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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

GENERAL REBELLION

IN

IRELAND.

RAISED UPON

The Three and Twentieth Day of OCTOBER, 1641.

Together with the

Barbarous CRUELTIES and Bloody MASSACRES which enſued thereupon.

Publiſhed in the Year 1646, by Sir JOHN TEMPLE, Knight, Maſter of the Rolls, and one of His Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy Council within the Kingdom of IRELAND.

The SEVENTH EDITION.

To which is added,

Sir HENRY TICHBORNE's HISTORY of the SIEGE of DROGHEDA, in the Year 1641.

As alſo, The whole Tryal of CONNOR Lord MACGUIRE, with the perfect Copies of the Indictment, and all the Evidences againſt him. Together with the POPE's Bull to the Confederate CATHOLICKS in IRELAND.

CORK:

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PREFACE.

I HAVE here adventured to preſent unto publick view, the beginnings and firſt progreſs of the Rebellion lately raiſed within this kingdom of Ireland. And although I cannot but take notice of ſuch a multitude of imperfections in my ſelf as render me very unfit for the performance of this ſervice: as alſo, that I ſhall thereby raiſe up much malice, and private diſpleaſure, as well againſt my perſon, as my undertakings herein: yet ſuch is my zeal and moſt earneſt deſire to appear in this cauſe, as being now laid aſide, and for the preſent diſabled in any other way to be further uſeful to this unhappy kingdom, I reſolved to deny myſelf, and wholly departing from my own intereſts, to employ my weak endeavours, in ſetting down the ſad ſtory of our miſeries. I might, peradventure, with much more advantage to my own particular have looked back, (as far wiſer men have done in their troubles) and paſſed my time in foreign collections, or penning ſome ſtory of times long ſince paſt, where the chief actors are at reſt, and their unquiet ſpirits ſo ſurely laid, as they are not to be moved with the ſharpeſt charge that can be laid on their memories; *Nulli gravis eſt percuſſus Achilles.* Moſt men are great lovers of themſelves, and ſuch conſtant admirers of their own actions, as they think they do well to be angry at any thing that ſhall

(though never ſo truly) be reported to their diſadvantage. They conſider not their own natural imbecillities, their paſſions, diſtempers, or ill affections, which lead them on to adviſe or act things of an ill fame; but are ready to fly in the faces of thoſe who ſhall even in the faireſt characters repreſent or leave any impreſſions of them. Hence it is that the truth of things comes quite to be overſhadowed with falſe colours, and ſo to remain as it were buried alive, or otherwiſe to appear extremely diſfigured through groſs errors, baſe flattery, or wilful miſtakes. For moſt men that are preſent adventurers in this kind, are wiſe enough to apprehend their own danger; and thereupon departing from the common intereſt that every other man hath in their ſtory, reflect only upon their own particular, and ſuffer themſelves to be over-awed with the humour of the preſent times; or ſo far tranſported, either with the benefits or private injuries received from particular perſons, as they tranſmit very imperfect and weaker relations, or otherwiſe fill them up with ſuch counterfeit ſtuff, as poſterity will owe little to their information.

Memoires du Monſieur du Pleſſis, fol. 45.

Monſieur du Pleſſis, a perſon of extraordinary abilities and learning, a great miniſter of ſtate under that glorious king, Henry the 4th of France, undertook, as it appears by a letter of his to monſieur Languet, to write a ſtory of thoſe times wherein he lived. But I cannot find that he ever ſuffered that work to come to the preſs; whether by juſt apprehenſions diſcouraged from publication, or whether it otherwiſe miſcarried, I cannot ſay. But ſure I am, in the ſame letter he bitterly declaims againſt the humour of the times, and there plainly tells us, that after one hath writ

writ an history, he dares not adventure the publishing of it. *Si non qu'il allegue pour cause d'un effect, (ce qui n'a pas eſté,) comme une cauſe genereuſe, au lieu de l'amour d'une femme, & d'une querelle de bordeau.* Such was then the iniquity of thoſe times, ſo abominable and ſhameful the true cauſes of the imbroilments in that kingdom, that thoſe wars (as the court was then governed) had for the moſt part their firſt beginnings from ſome ill placed affection, or a private quarrel in an infamous place. And further ſpeaking on this ſubject, he intimates how dangerous it is to ſet forth the actions of men in their true colours; and how bitter and corroding to the conſcience of an hiſtorian to diſguiſe or make them appear otherwiſe to the world, than they were in their firſt original.

To ſpeak truth exactly, is highly commendable in any man, eſpecially in one that takes upon him to be a publick informer: to raze, to corrupt a record is a crime of a very high nature, and by the laws of the land moſt ſeverely puniſhable. Hiſtories are called *Teſtes temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriæ:* and certainly he doth offend in an high degree, who ſhall either negligently ſuffer or wilfully procure them to bring falſe evidence; that ſhall make them dark lanthorns to give light but on the one ſide, or as *Ignes fatui*, to cauſe the reader to wander from the truth, and vainly to follow falſe ſhadows, or the factious humours of the writer's brain. To be falſe, to deceive, to lie, even in ordinary diſcourſe, are vices commonly branded with much infamy, and held in great deteſtation by all good men. And therefore certainly thoſe that arrive at ſuch a height of impudency, as Cicero de Orat.

magiſterially to take upon them, not only to abuſe the preſent but future ages, muſt needs render themſelves juſtly odious. They ſtand reſponſible for other mens errors; and whereas in all other notorious offenders, their ſin and their life determines at fartheſt together: the ſin of theſe men is perpetuated after their deceaſe, they ſpeak when they are dead, make falſe infuſions into every age, and court every new perſon that ſhall many years after caſt his eyes upon their ſtory to give belief to their lies. Therefore for my own part when I firſt undertook this taſk, I took up with it a reſolution moſt clearly to declare the truth. I have caſt up my accounts, I have ſet up my reſt, and determine rather to diſpleaſe any other man than offend my own conſcience. I have neither private reflections, nor foreign ends; I am now as it were reduced into my firſt principles, and have taken this work upon me, meerly out of publick conſiderations. All that I aim at is, that there may remain for the benefit of this preſent age, as well as of poſterity, ſome certain records and monuments of the firſt beginnings and fatal progreſs of this rebellion, together with the horrid cruelties moſt unmercifully exerciſed by the Iriſh rebels upon the Britiſh and proteſtants within this kingdom of Ireland. That when God's time is come of returning it into the boſoms of thoſe who have been the firſt plotters or preſent actors therein, and that kingdom comes to be re-planted with Britiſh, and ſettled in peace again, (which I have even in our loweſt condition, with great confidence attended, and do now moſt undoubtedly believe will e're long be brought to paſs) there may be ſuch a courſe taken, ſuch proviſions made, and ſuch a wall of ſeparation

paration ſet up betwixt the Iriſh and the Britiſh, as it ſhall not be in their power to riſe up (as now and in all former ages they have done) to deſtroy and root them out in a moment, before they be able to put themſelves in a poſture of defence, or to gather together to make any conſiderable reſiſtance againſt their bloody attempts.

I ſhall not pretend to entertain the reader with political maxims, grave ſentences, or flouriſhing orations: that which I hope will cover over a multitude of imperfections, is the unqueſtionable truth of what I ſhall ſet down in a plain and brief narration of all the cauſes and proceedings held in the raiſing, as alſo in the firſt counſels and undertakings for the ſuppreſſion of this hideous rebellion.

And that I might in ſome meaſure compaſs my deſign herein, and give ſatisfaction even to the moſt curious inquiſitors after truth, I did with great care and diligence turn over the very originals or authentical copies of the voluminous examinations remaining with the public regiſter, and taken upon oath, by virtue of two ſeveral commiſſions iſſued out under the great ſeal of this kingdom to examine the loſſes of the Britiſh, the cruelties and horrid murders committed by the Iriſh in the deſtruction of them. I have peruſed the public diſpatches, acts, and relations, as likewiſe the private letters and particular diſcourſes ſent by the chief gentlemen out of ſeveral parts of the kingdom, to preſent unto the lords juſtices and council the ſad condition of their affairs. And having been made acquainted with all the moſt ſecret paſſages and councils of the ſtate, I have, as far as I could, without breach of truſt, and as the duty of a privy counſellor would admit

mit, communicated ſo much of them as I conceived neceſſary and proper for public information. And ſetting aſide the particulars contained within the firſt pages, leading on by way of introduction to the enſuing troubles, which I have taken upon truſt out of the moſt approved authors both ancient and modern, who have written the ſtory of Ireland, I may confidently avow, that I have been ſo curious in gathering up my materials, and ſo careful in putting them together, as very few paſſages will be found here inſerted which have not either fallen within the compaſs of my own knowledge, or that I have not received from thoſe who were chiefly intruſted in matters of action abroad; or that came not to my hands atteſted under the oaths of credible witneſſes, or clearly aſſerted in the voluntary confeſſions of the rebels themſelves.

Every man, I believe, will eaſily aſſent unto me, that out of theſe fountains we may preſume with moſt certainty to draw truth, and that if we bound our enquiries within this circuit, we may well hope to arrive at the true knowledge of the main particular paſſages of this late rebellion. And therefore though I ſhall not obtrude every thing as infallible, which by a ſtrict and moſt ſevere inquiſition, I have taken upon the grounds before mentioned (conſidering how ſubject men are through forgetfulneſs and humane imbecillity to err in the ordinary courſe of their relations) yet thus much I ſuppoſe I may confidently ſay, that no man could imagine how to make collections with greater certainty, and more clear unqueſtionable probabilities of truth than I have here ſet down. Now

Now as for the examinations here mentioned, howſoever they were taken with all the care and circumſpection that could poſſibly be uſed in ſo great a work, yet are they moſt commonly decried, and held by the Iriſh as very injurious to their country-men. Thus much I ſhall be bold to aver, and ſhall here ſpeak it for the better authority and credit of the evidence brought in by them;

Firſt, That as the commiſſions for taking thoſe examinations were after mature deliberation iſſued out by ſpecial order from the lords juſtices and council; ſo they were in great wiſdom deſigned by them for no other ends than to have ſome general account of the loſſes ſuffered by the Britiſh, and the cruelties exerciſed by the Iriſh upon them in the ſeveral parts of the kingdom. And this courſe was firſt ſet on foot in the very height of our troubles, when the fury of the rebels ſo deſperately raged, as they were in no condition to think of the attaining of their perſons, and therefore only aimed at the diſcovery of their treaſon. Out of which reſpect chiefly the commiſſioners made choice of for the performance of this ſervice, were ſix of the clergy, all perſons of known integrity; and ſuch as by reaſon of their profeſſion, would in all probability gently proceed on in their inquiſitions, and truly ſet down the bloody relations given in unto them: the perſons examined were of ſeveral conditions, moſt of them Britiſh, ſome of Iriſh birth and extraction, very many of good quality, and ſuch as were of inferior rank were not rejected if they were known ſufferers, and came freely in to declare what they could ſpeak of their own knowledge. Few came but ſuch as had been in the hands of the rebels,

and

and could with ſorrowful hearts make the ſad relation of their own miſeries: and ſo they having been eye-witneſſes, their depoſitions are for the moſt part out of their own knowledge; and what is given in by them upon hear-ſay, they for the moſt part depoſe, that they received it out of the rebels own mouths while they were in reſtraint among them. Laſtly, many of theſe miſerable perſons thus examined, came up wounded, others even almoſt famiſhed; or ſo worn out with their ſufferings, as they did not long out-live the date of their examinations: ſo as theſe teſtimonies being delivered in their laſt agonies, we are in charity to believe that they would leave behind them with all due circumſtances, a clear atteſtation of ſuch cruelties as they then bequeathed unto us with their laſt breath.

* But it is not much to be wondred, if they who had it in deſign to deſtroy all the public records and ancient monuments in the kingdom, to baniſh both the Engliſh law, and government, do ſo bitterly declaim againſt theſe evidences of their cruelty, and lively atteſtations given in to perpetuate the memory of them to their eternal infamy.

If they could imagine which way to ſilence, or by what means to blaſt the credit of theſe examinations thus ſolemnly taken, and prevail according to their moſt impetuous deſires upon the late treaty of peace, to have all the indictments legally put in againſt the principal rebels and their adherents, taken off the

* Mr. Creighton in his examination depoſeth, that he heard many bitter words caſt out againſt the city of Dublin, that they would burn and ruin it, deſtroy all records and monuments of the Engliſh government; make laws againſt ſpeaking Engliſh, and that all names given by the Engliſh to places, ſhould be aboliſhed, and the ancient names reſtored.

the file and cancelled, they would not be out of hope, as theſe times now are, to palliate their rebellion with ſuch ſpecious pretences, as that their barbarous cruelties, acted beyond all parallel, being forgotten, it ſhould with great applauſe paſs down to poſterity, under the name of a holy and juſt war for the defence of the catholic cauſe.

And now in order to this deſign, they have taken all occaſions to proclaim the huge preſſures which they pretend to have ſuffered under the late government in this kingdom, and ſpare not to term it tyrannical: they ſpeak as if their oppreſſions might be paralleled with the Iſraelitiſh Envaſſalage in the land of Ægypt, and their perſecutions, for religion equalled to thoſe of the primative times: and then they further ſay, that thereupon only ſome catholicks, conſidering the deplorable and deſperate condition they were in, and apprehending the plots laid to extinguiſh their religion, and nation, did take arms in the North in maintenance of their religion, and for the preſervation of life, liberty, and eſtate; together with his majeſty's rights: and that the lords and gentlemen dwelling within the Engliſh Pale, were likewiſe by the great rigour and ſeverity uſed by the ſtate towards them, enforced to take up arms for their own defence.

A remonſtrance of grievances preſented to his Majeſty in behalf of the Catholicks of Ireland, and given in to his Majeſty's Commiſſioners at Trym, March 17, 1642.

Theſe are the expreſſions and the language uſed in the late remonſtrance given in to his majeſty's commiſſioners at Trym, to be preſented to his majeſty in behalf of his catholick ſubjects in Ireland. Wherein there are pieced together ſo many vain inconſiderable fancies, many ſubſequent paſſages acted in the proſecution of the war and ſuch bold, notorious, falſe aſſertions, without any the leaſt ground or colour

colour of truth; as without all doubt they abſolutely reſolved, firſt to raiſe this rebellion, and then to ſet their lawyers and clergy on work, to frame ſuch reaſons and motives as might with ſome colour or juſtification ſerve for arguments to defend it. And it is indeed, to ſpeak plainly, a moſt infamous pamphlet, full fraught with ſcandalous aſperſions caſt upon the preſent government, and his majeſty's principal officers of ſtate within this kingdom. It was certainly framed with moſt virulent intentions, not to preſent their condition and preſent ſufferings to his majeſty, but that it might be diſperſed to gain belief among foreign ſtates abroad as well as diſcontented perſons at home; and ſo draw aſſiſtance and aid, to foment and ſtrengthen their rebellious party in Ireland.

But I do not much wonder they ſhould take thus upon them to abuſe the world with ſuch ſcurrilous diſcourſes, and thereby endeavour to raiſe ſome ground or belief that they had juſt cauſe to enter into ſo deſperate a rebellion. This hath been an ordinary courſe ever-held in all deſigns of this nature. And it is well obſerved by *Polybius*, that there are commonly to be found in all ſuch great undertakings, *Cauſæ ſuaſoriæ*, and *cauſæ juſtificæ*. The firſt, ſuch as are the true natural cauſes, and really firſt in the intention; the other, ſuch as are moſt commonly obtruded to the world by way of cover and juſtification. Now as the nature of water is moſt clearly ſeen in the firſt fountain, where it remains pure and unmixed, without any droſs or ſoil that it afterwards contracts, as it paſſeth along in the ſtreams derived from it: ſo certainly the quality of all human actions is beſt underſtood, and moſt clearly diſcerned, when we

we look upon them as they appear in their firſt original, before the inconveniencies and fatal miſcarriages which afterwards come to be diſcovered, awake the firſt projectors, and teach them new artifices wherewith they diſguiſe and colour over their abortive, or otherwiſe unfortunate counſels. Now as for the true ſuaſorian cauſes (if I may ſo term them) which induced the Iriſh to lay the plot of this rebellion, and were indeed really firſt in their thoughts, they will ſufficiently appear in this enſuing ſtory. And for the juſtificial reaſons of their riſing in arms, if any one hath a mind to take them up on truſt from themſelves, let him ſeek no further than the remonſtrance before-mentioned; whereof much more is to be ſaid than I ſhall give myſelf liberty to ſpeak in this place: well knowing that thoſe notorious untruths and wicked impoſtures contained in it when they come to the teſt, will be quickly diſcovered, and the varniſh they have put upon them ſoon fall away of itſelf.

If any one hath been ignorantly deluded hereby, and deſires to be rectified in his own judgment, let him be pleaſed to turn over this enſuing ſtory.

Verum eſt Index ſui & obliqui:

There needs certainly no other confutation of their falſe and virulent ſuggeſtions, than a true impartial relation of the firſt beginnings and progreſs of this rebellion: which for what was acted within the ſpace of the firſt two months after the breaking out of it, I preſume I may ſay without vanity, he ſhall certainly find here. It is true, I have principally applied myſelf to give an account of what was done about Dublin, the chief city of this kingdom, and the place where the lords juſtices and council continued uſing their utmoſt

moſt power and endeavours to oppoſe the fury of the rebels. Yet as all other parts of the kingdom were under their government, and their care and counſels (as far as their general diſtractions would admit) extended to the whole, what was acted in all other places of the country, comes properly to be touched upon, and the miſerable condition of them to be repreſented in this following ſtory.

I ſhall not here trouble the reader with any further apology for myſelf, or with excuſes for the multitude of my own imperfections, which will here appear in large characters; and will be peradventure looked upon with a multiplying glaſs, by thoſe who are not pleaſed with what I have here expoſed to public view. I do not at all pretend to ſilence the bitter expreſſions of malevolent ſpirits: as I ſhall with great patience compoſe myſelf to bear the utmoſt that their malice can put upon me: ſo I ſhall be always ready with much meekneſs to ſubmit to be reformed by any perſon whatſoever, who can make it appear, that I have either through ignorance or negligence (for I am ſure wilful miſtakes they will find none) miſcarried in the relation of any particular here ſet down: ſins of ignorance found a very eaſy expiation under the old law, I will not ſay they had a pardon of courſe. But if I have ſo carried myſelf, as that no greater tranſgreſſions can be laid to my charge, I ſhall be much ſatisfied, and may peradventure be further encouraged to proceed on to a continuation of this ſtory, and therein to tranſmit down to poſterity the noble atchievements and great victories already obtained by ſmall numbers of the Engliſh forces over huge multitudes of theſe Iriſh rebels.

AN ACT made in the fourteenth and fifteenth years of king Charles II. for keeping and celebrating the three and twentieth day of October, as an anniverſary thankſgiving in this kingdom

" WHEREAS many malignant and " rebellious papiſts and jeſuits, friers, ſeminary prieſts and other ſuperſtitious " orders of the popiſh pretended clergy, moſt " diſloyally, treacherouſly and wickedly conſpired to ſurprize his majeſty's caſtle of " Dublin, his majeſty's principal fort of this " kingdom of Ireland, the city of Dublin, " and all other cities and fortifications of " this realm, and that all the proteſtants and " Engliſh throughout the whole kingdom " that would not join with them ſhould be " cut off, and finally by a general rebellion, " to deprive our late ſovereign lord of ever " bleſſed memory king Charles the firſt of " this his antient and rightful crown and ſovereignty of this kingdom, and to poſſeſs " themſelves thereof, all which was by the " ſaid conſpirators plotted and intended to " be acted on the three and twentieth day of " October, in the year of our Lord God one " thouſand ſix hundred forty and one, a " conſpiracy ſo generally inhuman, barbarous and cruel, as the like was never before " heard of in any age or kingdom, and if it " had taken effect in that fulneſs which was " intended by the conſpirators, it had occaſioned the utter ruin of this whole kingdom, and the government thereof. And " however it pleaſed Almighty God in his " unſearchable wiſdom and juſtice as a juſt " puniſhment, and deſerved correction to his

" people for their ſins, and the ſins of this
" kingdom, to permit then and afterwards
" the effecting of a great part of that deſtruc-
" tion complotted by thoſe wicked conſpira-
" tors, whereby many thouſand Britiſh and
" proteſtants have been maſſacred, many
" thouſands of others of them have been af-
" flicted and tormented with the moſt exqui-
" ſite torments that malice could ſuggeſt,
" and all mens eſtates as well thoſe whom
" they barbarouſly murdered, as all other
" good ſubjects were waſted, ruined and de-
" ſtroyed, yet as his divine majeſty hath in
" all ages ſhewn his power and mercy in the
" miraculous and gracious deliverance of his
" church, and in the protection of religious
" kings and ſtates, ſo even in the midſt of
" his juſtice he was graciouſly pleaſed to ex-
" tend mercy to his majeſty and to this his
" kingdom, and good ſubjects therein, not
" only in merciful diſcovering to the then
" lords juſtices by one Owen O Connely a
" meer Iriſh man, but trained up in the pro-
" teſtant religion, who out of a ſenſe of his
" duty and loyalty to his majeſty, and for
" the preſervation of his good people, and
" as an effect of that religion he was trained
" up in, revealed that hideous and bloody
" treaſon, not many hours before the ap-
" pointed time for the execution thereof, but
" alſo in preſerving the ſaid caſtle and city of
" Dublin, and ſome other cities, towns and
" caſtles in the kingdom from the bloody
" hands of the barbarous conſpirators, as alſo
" in thereby rendring deliverance of the lives
" of the ſaid lords juſtices and council, and
" of all the Britiſh and proteſtants in Dublin,
" and in the ſaid other cities, towns and
" caſtles

" caſtles preſerved, and of ſundry other Bri-
" tiſh and proteſtants fallen into the hands
" of thoſe rebellious conſpirators, and like-
" wiſe in ſending us ſuccours out of England
" hither, by the piety, care and wiſdom of
" our late ſovereign lord king Charles the
" firſt, whereby with God's bleſſing the good
" ſubjects of this kingdom have hitherto con-
" tinued ſafe under his mighty protection,
" notwithſtanding the unexampled rage and
" implacable malice of thoſe mercileſs rebels.
" Wherefore as we do moſt humbly and juſt-
" ly acknowledge God's juſtice in our deſerv-
" ed puniſhments in thoſe calamities, which
" from the councels and actions of thoſe con-
" ſpirators and their adherents have fallen
" upon us *in this* kingdom in general, ſo we
" do in like manner acknowledge, that even
" in exerciſing of that his juſtice he remem-
" bered mercy alſo, and magnified his mer-
" cies to us in thoſe great bleſſings which we
" humbly confeſs to have proceeded meerly
" from his infinite goodneſs and mercy. And
" therefore to his moſt holy name we do aſ-
" cribe all honour, glory and praiſe, and to
" the end this unfeigned thankfulneſs may
" never be forgotten, but may be had in a
" perpetual remembrance, that all ages to
" come may yield praiſes to his divine majeſty
" for the ſame, and have in memory that
" joyful day of deliverance. Be it therefore
" enacted by the king's moſt excellent ma-
" jeſty, with the aſſent of the lords ſpiritual
" and temporal, and commons in this preſent
" parliament aſſembled, and by authority of
" the ſame, that the three and twentieth day
" of October ſhall be kept, and celebrated as
" an anniverſary holy day in this kingdom

" for ever, and that all perſons do at that day " forbear all bodily labour, and the exerciſe " of their trades, and that all and ſingular " miniſters in every cathedral and pariſh " church, or other uſual place for common " prayer within this realm of Ireland, ſhall " always upon the three and twentieth day " of October, ſay morning prayer, and give " thanks to Almighty God for that moſt hap- " py and miraculous deliverance and preſer- " vation, far above the expectations of thoſe " wretched conſpirators. And that all and " every perſon and perſons inhabiting within " this realm of Ireland, ſhall yearly upon the " three and twentieth day of October dili- " gently and faithfully reſort to the pariſh " church or chapel accuſtomed, or to ſome " uſual church or chapel where the ſaid morn- " ing prayer, preaching, or other ſervice of " God ſhall be uſed, and then and there abide " orderly and ſoberly during the time of the " ſaid prayers, preaching or other ſervice of " God there to be uſed and miniſtred, and " becauſe all and every perſon may be put in " mind of his duty, and be then the better " prepared to the ſaid holy ſervice: Be it " enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that " every miniſter ſhall give warning to his pa- " riſhioners publickly in the church at morn- " ing prayer the Lord's day next before " every ſuch three and twentieth day of Oc- " tober, for the due obſervation of the ſaid " day; and that after morning prayer or " preaching upon every ſuch three and twen- " tieth day of October, they read publickly, " diſtinctly and plainly this preſent act.

SUB-

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Oliver Latham, of Meldrum, Eſq;
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Mr. Peter Laulhé,
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Mr. Abraham Lane,
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THE

THE

IRISH REBELLION:

OR, AN

HISTORY of the BEGINNINGS,

AND FIRST

Progreſs of the General Rebellion

Raiſed within the

KINGDOM of IRELAND, in the Year 1641.

THE kingdom of Ireland (which hath for almoſt five hundred years continued under the ſovereignty of the crown of England) was preſently after the firſt conqueſt of it, planted with Engliſh colonies, long ſince worn out, or for the moſt part become Iriſh. And therefore it hath again in this laſt age been ſupplied with great numbers of people drawn out of England and Scotland, to ſettle their habitations in that country. Now the moſt execrable plot laid by the Iriſh, for the univerſal extirpation of all theſe britiſh and proteſtants, the bloody 1641.

1641. progreſs of their rebellion within the compaſs of the firſt two months; their horrid cruelties, in moſt barbarouſly murdering, or otherwiſe deſtroying many thouſands of men, women and children, peaceably ſettled, and ſecurely intermixed amongſt them, and that without any provocation, or conſiderable reſiſtance at firſt made, I intend ſhall be the preſent ſubject of the firſt part of this enſuing ſtory.

The original of the Iriſh. The Iriſh want not many fabulous inventions to magnifie the very firſt beginnings of their nation. Whether the Scythians, Gauls, Africans, Goths, or ſome other more eaſtern nation that anciently inhabited Spain, came and ſate down firſt in Ireland, I ſhall not much trouble myſelf here to enquire. If we ſhould give credit to the Iriſh chronicles or their bards (who deliver no certain truths) we might find ſtuff enough for an ancient pedigree, made up out of a moſt various ſtrange compoſure of the Iriſh Nation: But to let them paſs, there are certainly a concurrence of divers manners and cuſtoms, ſuch affinity of ſeveral of their words and names, and ſo great reſemblance of many long uſed rites, and ſtill retained ceremonies as do give us ſome ground to believe that they do not improbably deduce their firſt original from ſome of thoſe people. It may very well be conjectured (for infallible records I find none) that as the eaſtern parts of Ireland, bordering upon England were firſt planted by the old Britains: * Toole, Birne and Cauvenagh the ancient ſepts, and ſtill inhabitants of that part of

* Tools of the old Britain word toll, a hill country. Brine

of the country, being old Britiſh words. And as the northren parts of Ireland were firſt inhabited by the Scythians, from whom it was called § Scytenland, or Scotland: ſo the ſouthern and more weſtern parts thereof were peopled from the maritime parts of Spain, being the next continent, not by the now Spaniſh nation, who are ſtrangely compounded of a different mixture of ſeveral people: But as I ſaid, peradventure by the Gauls, who anciently inhabited all the ſea-coaſts of Spain the Syrians, or ſome other of thoſe more eaſtern nations, who intermixing with the natural inhabitants of that country, made a tranſmigration into Ireland, and ſo ſettled ſome colonies there. 1641.

Ireland anciently divided into divers petty principalities.

The whole kingdom of Ireland was divided into divers petty principalities, of later times there were five principal chieftains, viz. Mac-Morough of Leinſter, Mac-Cartye of Munſter, O Neal of Ulſter, O Connor of Conaght, and O Malaghlin of Meath. For ſuch were the Iriſh denominations, and I do not find they were called kings till about the time of the coming over of the Engliſh; Giraldus Cambrenſis who came into Ireland in the time of Henry II. of England, being the firſt writer that gives them that title. Beſides, as they came not in either by † hereditary right or lawful election, ſo their inveſtiture was ſolemnized,

Brine of Brin, woods. Cauvenagh of Canve ſtrong. The view of Ireland by Spencer f. 33.

§ Ireland is often called Scotia major among ancient writers.

† Iſti reges non fuerunt ordinati ſolemnitate alicujus ordinis

1641. zed neither by unction, or coronation, they made their way by the ſword, had certain kinds of barbarous ceremonies uſed at their inauguration, kept up their power with a high hand, and held the people moſt monſtrouſly enſlaved to all the ſavage cuſtoms practiſed under their dominion. And thus they continued until the reign of Henry II. king of England, in whoſe time the undertakings for the conqueſt of Ireland were ſucceſsfully made by moſt powerful, though private, adventures upon this occaſion.

The firſt enterpriſe of the Engliſh upon Ireland made by private adventurers.

† Dermott Mac-Morough king of Leinſter (being by the kings of Conaght and Meath enforced to fly his country) made his repair directly to Henry II. king of England, then perſonally attending his wars in France, and with much earneſtneſs implored his aid for the recovery of his territories in Ireland, moſt injuriouſly, as he pretended, wreſted out of his hands. The king refuſed to imbarque himſelf in this quarrel: yet graciouſly recommended the juſtice of his cauſe to all his loving ſubjects, and by his letters patent aſſured them that whoſoever would afford the ſaid Mac-Morough aſſiſtance towards his reſettlement, ſhould not only have free liberty to tranſport their forces, but be held to do very acceptable ſervice, therein. ‡ Hereupon earl Strangebow firſt engaging himſelf, determined as a private adventurer to endeavour

ordinis, nec unctionis ſacramento, nec jure hæreditario, vel aliqua proprietatis ſucceſſione, ſed vi & armis quilibet regnum ſuum obtinuit.

† The black book of Chriſt-church in Dublin, it is an ancient manuſcript kept there.

‡ Se noſtram ad hoc tam gratiam noverit quam licentiam obtinere. Gir. Cambren. expugnat. Hib. c. 1.

vour his reſtitution with the utmoſt force he could raiſe, he lying then very conveniently at Briſtol, where Mac-Morough came unto him, in his paſſage back from the king into Ireland; there were certain conditions agreed upon between them, and a tranſaction made by Mac-Morough of his kingdom of Leinſter unto the earl, upon his marriage with his only daughter Eva. And ſo he being deſirous to return ſpeedily into his own country, paſſed to St. Davids, in South-Wales, from whence is the ſhorteſt paſſage out of England into Ireland; and there he further engaged Fitz-Stephen and Fitz-Gerald, private gentlemen, in this ſervice: theſe by their power among their countrymen in thoſe parts, having gotten together a party of 490 men, tranſported them in three ſhips into Ireland, landing at the Banne, a little creek near Featherd, in the county of Wexford, and there joyning with ſome forces brought unto them by Mac-Morough, made their firſt attempt upon the town of Wexford, they were gallantly ſeconded by earl Strangebow, who followed preſently after with no very conſiderable forces; and yet by the power of their arms, within a very ſhort time prevailed ſo far in the country, as they made themſelves maſters thereof, and ſo gained the poſſeſſion of all the maritime parts of Leinſter.

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Camba. cap. 1.

King Henry upon the news of their proſperous ſucceſs in the ſudden reducement of ſo large a territory by ſuch inconſiderable forces as they carried with them; deſirous to ſhare with his ſubjects in the rich fruits, as well as in the glory of ſo great an action, undertook an expedition in his own perſon into Ireland the year following. And ſo ſtrange

K. Henry II. his expedition into Ireland, An. 1172.

1641. an influence had the very preſence of this great prince upon the minds of the rude ſavage natives, as partly by the power of his arms, partly by his grace and favour in receiving of them in upon their fained ſubmiſſions moſt humbly tendred unto him, he eaſily ſubdued a barbarous divided people.

The firſt beginnings of the conqueſt of this kingdom were thus gloriouſly laid by this king, in the year of our lord 1172. Now for the land itſelf, he found it good and flouriſhing, with many excellent commodities, plentiful in all kinds of proviſion, the ſoil rich and fertile, the air ſweet and temperate, the havens very ſafe and commodious, ſeveral towns and little villages ſcattered up and down in the ſeveral parts of the country; but the buildings ſo poor and contemptible, as when that king arrived at Dublin their chief city, and finding there neither place fit for receipt or entertainment, * he ſet up a long houſe made of ſmoothed wattles after the manner of the country, and therein kept his chriſtmas. All their forts, caſtles, ſtately buildings and other edifices were afterwards erected by the Engliſh, except ſome of their maritime towns which were built by the Oſtmanni or Eſterlings who anciently came and inhabited in Ireland.

The chriſtian religion ſettled in Ireland, by Sedulius, Palladius and Patricius in the fourth age after the birth of our Saviour.

Moreover he found likewiſe by ſeveral monuments of piety, and other remarkable teſtimonies, that the chriſtian religion had been long ſince introduced and planted among the inhabitants of the land. It is not certainly without ſome good grounds affirmed by ancient

* Rog. Hoveden calls it Palatium regium miro artificio de virgis levigatis ad modum patriæ illius conſtructum. fol. 528.

cient writers, that in the fourth age after the incarnation of our bleſſed lord and ſaviour, ſome holy and learned men came over out of foreign parts into Ireland, out of their pious deſires to propagate the bleſſed goſpel throughout the kingdom, as Sedulius, Palladius, and beſides ſeveral others, Patricius the famous Iriſh ſaint, (a Britain born at a place now called Kirk-Patrick near Glaſcow in Scotland, then the utmoſt boundary of the britains dominions in thoſe parts,) who out of meer devotion came and ſpent much of their time among the Iriſh, and out of their zealous affections for the converſion of a barbarous people, applied themſelves with great care and induſtry to the inſtructing of them in the true grounds and principles of the chriſtian religion. And with ſo great ſucceſs, and ſuch unwearied endeavours did St. Patrick travel in this work, as (if we will give credit to ſome writers) we muſt believe that the church of Armagh was by him erected into an Archiepiſcopal ſee, three hundred and fifty biſhops conſecrated, great numbers of clergymen inſtituted, who (notwithſtanding the notorious impiety and continued prophaneneſs of the common ſort of people) being moſt of them Monks by vow and profeſſion, of great learning, very auſtere and ſtrict in their diſcipline, were ſo much taken notice of in thoſe rude ignorant times, by other nations, as in reſpect of them ſome gave unto the iſland the denomination of Inſula Sanctorum. But ſo quickly did the power of holineſs decay in the land, as the name was ſoon loſt, and even the very prints and characters thereof among the very clergy themſelves obliterated; the life of the people ſo beaſtly, their manners ſo depraved 1641.

1641. and barbarous, as that king Henry, when he entertained the firſt thoughts of transferring his arms over into Ireland, * made ſuit unto the pope, that he would give him leave to go and conquer Ireland, and reduce thoſe beaſtly men unto the way of truth. Anſwerable whereunto was the tenor of pope Adrian's bull, as appears at large in Pariſienſis, whereby he gave him liberty to go over and ſubdue the Iriſh nation. A ſufficient demonſtration of the condition of that people, and what opinion was held of them, as well by the holy father the pope as other princes. And the king at his arrival found them no other than a beaſtly people indeed: for the inhabitants were generally devoid of all manner of civility, governed by no ſettled law, living like beaſts, biting and devouring one another, without all rules, cuſtoms, or reaſonable conſtitutions, either for regulation of property, or againſt open force and violence, moſt notorious murthers, rapes, robberies, and all other acts of inhumanity and barbariſm, raging without controul or due courſe of puniſhment. Whereupon, he, without any manner of ſcruple, or farther inquiſition into particular titles, reſolving as it ſeems to make good by the ſword the pope's donation, made a general ſeizure of all the lands of the whole kingdom, and ſo without other ceremony took them all into his own hands.

And that he might the more ſpeedily introduce religion and civility, and ſo draw on

* Rex Anglorum Hen. nuncios ſolemnes Romam mittens rogavit Papam Adrianum ut ſibi liceret Hiberniæ Inſulam intrare, & terram ſubjugare, atque homines illos beſtiales ad fidem, & viam reducere veritatis. Mat. Paris. Anno 1156.

on towards the accompliſhment of that great work which he had ſo glorioufly begun, he firſt, in a great council held at * Liſſemore, cauſed the laws of England to be received and ſettled in Ireland, then he afterwards united it to the imperial crown of England, making large diſtributions to his followers by particular grants, allotting out in great proportions the whole land of Ireland among the Engliſh commanders, who made eſtates, and gave ſeveral ſhares to their friends and commilitants that came over private adventures with them. But before I paſs further, I ſhall take the liberty here to inſert one obſervation out of Giraldus Cambrenſis, concerning the cauſe and reaſons of the proſperity of the Engliſh undertakeings in Ireland. He ſaith, that a ſynod or council of the clergy, being there aſſembled at Armagh, and that point fully debated, it was unanimouſly agreed by them all, that the ſins of the people were the occaſion of that heavy judgment then fallen upon their nation, and that eſpecially their buying of Engliſhmen from merchants and pirates, and detaining them under a moſt miſerable hard bondage, had cauſed the Lord by way of juſt retaliation, to leave them to be reduced by the Engliſh to the ſame ſlavery. † Where upon they made a public act in that council, that all the Engliſh

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Ireland divided by K. Henry II. among his followers, and other adventurers.

* Rex antequam ab Hibernia redibat concilium congregavit apud Liſmore, ubi leges Angliæ ab omnibus gratenter ſunt acceptæ & juratoria cautione præſtita confirmatæ. Mat. Paris. An. 1172.

† Decretum eſt itaque prædicto concilio, & cum Univerſitatis conſenſu publice Statutum : ut Angli ubique per inſulam ſervitutis vinculo mancipati in priſtinam revocarentur libertatem. Gir. Cam. expug. Hib. cap. 18.

1641. gliſh held in captivity throughout the whole land, ſhould be preſently reſtored to their former liberty. If ſo heavy a judgment fell then upon the Iriſh for their hard uſage of of ſome few Engliſh, what are they now to expect? or what expiation can they now pretend to make for the late effuſion of ſo much innocent Engliſh blood, after ſo horrid, diſpiteful and execrable a manner? There being ſince the rebellion firſt broke out, unto the time of the ceſſation made Sept. 15, 1643, which was not full two years after, above 300000 Britiſh and Proteſtants cruelly murdered in cold blood, deſtroyed ſome other way, or expelled out of their habitations, according to the ſtricteſt conjecture and computation, of thoſe who ſeemed beſt to underſtand the numbers of Engliſh planted in Ireland, beſides thoſe few which periſhed in the heat of fight, during the war.

The number of Britiſh and Proteſtants deſtroyed ſince the Rebellion.

King John came into Ireland during his minority, though to little purpoſe, but after, about the twelfth year of his reign, upon the general defection of the Iriſh, he made a ſecond expedition, and during his ſtay there, built ſeveral forts and ſtrong caſtles, many of which remain unto this day; he erected all the courts of judicature, and contributed very much towards the ſettlement of the Engliſh colonies, as alſo of the civil government. King Richard II. made likewiſe in the time of his reign, upon the ſame occaſion, two other expeditions into Ireland in his own perſon. But both thoſe princes out of a deſire to ſpare the effuſion of Engliſh blood, as alſo the expence of treaſure, being likewiſe haſtened back by the diſtempers of their own ſubjects in England, were both content to ſuffer themſelves to

The fruitleſs expeditions of K. John, and K. Rich. II. into Ireland.

to be again abuſed by the fained ſubmiſſions of the Iriſh, who finding their own weakneſs, and utter diſability to reſiſt the power of thoſe two mighty monarchs, came with all humility even from the fartheſt parts of the kingdom, to ſubmit to their mercy: and yet it is well obſerved by ſome that ſay they returned back, not leaving one true ſubject more behind them, than they found at their firſt arrival. Howſoever by the very preſence of theſe princes, and by the careful endeavours of the governors ſent over by other of the Kings of England, thoſe that were adventurers in the firſt conqueſt, and ſuch others of the Engliſh nation as came over afterwards, took poſſeſſion by virtue of the former grants of the whole kingdom, drove the Iriſh in a manner out of all the habitable parts of it, and ſettled themſelves in all the plains and fertile places of the country, eſpecially in the chief towns, ports and upon the ſea-coaſts. And to ſuch a height of power and greatneſs had ſome of thoſe firſt adventuring commanders raiſed themſelves here by reaſon of the addition of new titles of honour, the unlimited juriſdictions and privileges enjoyed by them, the great rents they received, the numerous dependance they had, as that they began to look upon their own poſſeſſions as circumſcribed within too narrow limits, to entertain private animoſities againſt each other, to draw in the Iriſh (whom they had driven up into the mountains, and ever eſteemed as their moſt deadly enemies) to take part in their quarrels, being not aſhamed to uſe their aſſiſtance for the enlargement of their own private territories, as alſo to curb the too exorbitant power, as they thought, of their oppoſites, though their own compatriots and joint- 1641.

1641. joint-tenants in the poſſeſſion of that good land. The Iriſh were very glad to entertain this occaſion, and did ever foment by their utmoſt power and artifice theſe unnatural broils and diſſentions amonſt the Engliſh, whom they moſt mortally hated: for they living in a manner out of the reach, as well as out of the protection of all the Engliſh laws and government, were always accounted not only as aliens, but meer enemies; and beſides thoſe Septs of Iriſh which were termed the † *Quinque familæ* (who notwithſtanding the great privileges they enjoyed by the protection of the Engliſh laws, ever ſhewed much averſeneſs both to the Engliſh and their laws) no other perſons of any Iriſh families, from the very firſt conqueſt of Ireland in the time of Henry II. until the reign of King Henry VIII. were admitted into the condition of ſubjects, or received any benefit by the Engliſh laws, but ſuch as purchaſed charters of denization. It was no capital offence to kill any of them, the law did neither protect their life, nor revenge their death. And ſo they living upon the mountains, in the boggs, and woods, though at firſt after ſome ſort divided from the Engliſh, did take all occaſions to declare their malice and hatred againſt the Engliſh colonies planted near unto them.

The ancient malice of the Iriſh to the Engliſh.

But howſoever the Engliſh were in all ages infeſted with their Iriſh enemies, yet were they certainly in point of intereſt and univerſal poſſeſſion, owners and proprietors of the whole kingdom of Ireland. They kept themſelves in entire bodies almoſt for the firſt hundred

† Quinque familæ. O Neale de Ultonia. O Malahglin de Melin. O Connor de Conacio. O Brien de Thomondia. Mac-Morough de Lagenia.

hundred years after their arrival, not ſuffering the Iriſh to live promiſcuouſly among them, by which means they failed not to make good their footing, and by a high hand to keep them under in due obedience and ſubjection to the crown of England. And when afterwards they began to be more careleſs of their habitation, and to ſuffer the Iriſh to intermingle with them, and their Engliſh followers to familiarize themſelves into their beaſtly manners and cuſtoms (for prevention of which miſchief, * many ſevere Laws were enacted in after ages,) yet for ſome time they made good the rights and poſſeſſions they had gotten by conqueſt, and went on, endeavouring to civilize the people, introducing the Engliſh laws, language, habit and cuſtoms long uſed among them. Now although theſe, and all other courſes were taken by them, which might reclaim ſuch as ſeemed any ways inclinable to civility, or would take out charters of denization; yet ſuch ever was, and ſtill is the rough rebellious diſpoſition of the people, their hatred ſo implacable, their malice ſo unappeaſable to all the Engliſh nation, as no laws or gentle conſtitutions would work, no publick benefits, temper, or any tract of time reconcile and draw them to any tolerable patience of cohabitation: but they have in all times continued to take all advantages 1641.

as

* By the ſtatutes made at Kilkenny by Lionel duke of Clarence, lord lieutenant of Ireland in the time of Edward III. Alliance by marriage, nurture of infants, and goſſipred with the Iriſh are high treaſon. And if any Engliſhman ſhould uſe the Iriſh language, Iriſh name, or Iriſh apparel, his lands ſhould be ſeiſed on, and if he had no lands, he was to ſuffer impriſonment. Archiv. in caſtro Dublin. Statutes of Kilkenny.

1641. as well ſince they were admitted into the condition of ſubjects, as while they were eſteemed and treated as enemies, moſt perfidiouſly, to riſe up and imbrue their hands in the blood of their Engliſh neighbours: ſo as Ireland hath long remained a true Aceldama, a field of blood, an unſatiated ſepulcher of the Engliſh nation. * For what by reaſon of their own inteſtine broils, after they had (as ſoon they did, when they began to admit the intermixture of the Iriſh) moſt barbarouſly degenerate into all their manners and cuſtoms; and what by reaſon of the cruel hatred and miſchievous attempts of the Iriſh upon them: we ſhall not find that the Engliſh, from the firſt acceſs into Ireland, unto the beginning of the reign of queen Elizabeth, (a tract of time containing above 380 years) had any ſettled peace or comfortable ſubſiſtence, but were in moſt perpetual combuſtions and troubles, ſo extremely harraſſed and overworn with miſery, as they were not long likely to ſurvive the univerſal calamity that had overſpread the face of the whole kingdom.

The royal endeavours of queen Eliz. for the reducing of Ireland

Whereupon that bleſſed queen, out of her pious intentions, and good affections to her people, applied herſelf with great care to redreſs the diſorders of her ſubjects in Ireland. And in the very beginning of her reign, ſending over prudent and religious governors, the work

* In that ſpace of time which was between the 10 year of Edward II. and the 30 year of Edward III. all the old Engliſh colonies in Munſter, Conaught and Ulſter, and more than a third part of Leinſter became degenerated, and fell away from the crown of England, ſo as the Engliſh pale remained only under the obedience of the law.

work of reformation was much advanced, by many wholſome laws enacted againſt the barbarous cuſtoms of the Iriſh; and the execution of juſtice (which a long time continued within the limits of the pale) began now to be extended into Connaught, Ulſter, and other remote parts of the land at ſome intervals of quiet times. The Iriſh countries were reduced into ſhires; and ſheriffs, with ſome other miniſters of juſtice placed in them: the pretended captainſhips, and thoſe high powers uſurped by the Iriſh, together with all the extortions, and other fearful exorbitancies incident to them, were now put into ſuch a way of declination, as they could not long continue. Seignories and poſſeſſions were ſettled in a due courſe of inheritance; thoſe moſt deſtructive cuſtoms of * Taneſtry and Gavelkind 1641.

* The lands belonging to the Iriſh, were divided into ſeveral territories, and the inhabitants in every Iriſh country were divided into ſeveral ſepts or lineages.--- In every Iriſh country, there was a lord or chieftain, and a taniſt, which was his ſucceſſor apparent. None could be choſen taniſt, but one iſſued out of the chief ſepts---The ſeignory and lands belonging to the chief lord, did not deſcend from father to ſon, or upon default of iſſue to him that was next of kin: but he that was moſt active, of greateſt power, and had moſt followers, always cauſed himſelf to be choſen taniſt; and if he could not compaſs his deſires by gentle means, then he uſed open force and violence; and ſo being declared as it were heir apparent, came into poſſeſſion upon the death of the chief lord----Now for the inferior ſepts, they held their lands at the will of the chief lord, after a ſort; for after the death of any one of his tenants which held any land under him, he aſſembled the whole ſepts, and having put all their poſſeſſions together in hatch potch, made a new partition among them, not aſſigning to the ſon of him that died, the land held by his father, but altering every mans' poſſeſſion at his own pleaſure, and according to his own diſcretion: he

1641. Gavelkind began to be depreſſed; the two preſidential courts of Munſter and Connaught were then inſtituted, and ſpecial order taken that free-ſchools might be erected in the ſeveral dioceſſes throughout the kingdom, for the better training up of youth. But theſe acts, and other courſes tending to the advancement of true religion, and civility, were highly diſpleaſing, and moſt incompatible with the looſe humours of the natives, who apprehended even the moſt gentle means of reformation, as ſharp corroding medicines; and thereupon pretending the burthen of the Engliſh government moſt inſupportable, began deſperately to ſtruggle for their liberty. * Several plots were laid, ſome even by thoſe who were themſelves of the old Engliſh by extraction: divers rebellions and petty revolts raiſed during her majeſty's moſt happy reign: that of Shan O'Neal, the earl of Deſmond, viſcount Baltinglas, O'Burke, and ſeveral others at other times, were all ſet on foot for this very end, and all timely ſuppreſſed, partly by the power of the queen's forces, partly by her gracious favour in receiving the chieftains to mercy. And ſhe, as moſt unwearied with their never ceaſing provocations, ſtill went on with all gentle applications and lenitives, for the withdrawing of the people from their barbarous cuſtoms:

he upon the death of every inferiour tenant, made a general remove, and ſo allotted to every one of the ſept ſuch part as he thought fit. And this was the Iriſh gavelkind. Sir John Davies rep. fol. 49.

* Nonnulli ex claris in lageniæ familiis & plerique anglicæ originis partim ex romanæ religionis ſtudio, partim ex odio recentium anglorum conſpirare cœperant: ad proregem, cum familia opprimendum, caſtrum dublinienſe intercipiendum, & anglos in hibernia ad unum è medio tollendos. Camden. Eliz. Ann. 22.

cuſtoms: as ſeveral of the great lords who had been out in rebellion, were reſtored to their lands and poſſeſſions, others ſhe ſuffered to enjoy their commands in the country, upon others ſhe beſtowed new titles of honour. And being very unwilling to put the kingdom of England to ſuch an exceſſive charge, as the full conqueſt of Ireland would moſt neceſſarily require; no fair means were left untried, that could miniſter any hopes of civilizing the people, or ſettling the preſent diſtractions of the kingdom. 1641.

The Iriſh not to be reclaimed by gentle means.

But all was in vain; the matter then wrought upon was not ſuſceptible of any ſuch noble forms, thoſe ways were heterogeneal, and had no manner of influence upon the preverſe diſpoſition of the Iriſh: the malignant impreſſions of irreligion and barbariſm, tranſmitted down, whether by infuſion from their anceſtors, or natural generation, had irrefragably ſtiffened their necks, and hardned their hearts againſt all the moſt powerful endeavours of reformation: they continued one and the ſame in all their wicked cuſtoms and inclinations, without change in their affections or manners, having their eyes enflamed, their hearts enraged with malice and hatred againſt all of the Engliſh nation, breathing forth nothing but their ruin, deſtruction, and utter extirpation.

Tyrone's rebellion.

And that they might at once diſ-impeſter themſelves of their unpleaſing company, and diſburthen the whole kingdom of them and their poſterity, they ſtill entertained new thoughts, and had now brought unto perfection a deſign long meditated in their breaſts, whereby they reſolved at once clearly to reſcue and deliver themſelves from their ſubjec-

1641. tion to the crown of England. And this was that desperate rebellion raised almost through the whole kingdom, by Hugh earl of Tyrone, who after titles of honour, received a command given by the queen unto him both of horse and foot in her pay, great proportions of land, and other princely favours conferred upon him; resolving at once to cancel all those royal obligations of gratitude and fidelity, broke out and drew along with him most of all the Irish septs and families, together with many degenerate English throughout the kingdom, into rebellion against his most gracious undoubted sovereign. And these all, as being universally actuated with the venemous infusions of his malevolent spirit, uniting their whole interests and forces into a firm conjuncture with him, raised all their dependants, and moved in several places according to the several orders and directions they received from him; and to fill up the full measure of his iniquity, he drew in foreign nations at the same time with considerable forces to invade the land.

The ill effects of the submissions of the Irish.

So as the queen now found by woeful experience that Ireland was no longer to be dallied with, one rebellion still begot another, and this last was more dangerous than any of the former it being more deeply rooted, more generally spread within the kingdom, more powerfully fomented from without. She well discerned how much her great clemency had been abused in suffering former rebellions to be smothered over and loosely pieced up with protections and pardons; that the receiving of the Irish upon their submissions, to avoid the charge of a war, did inevitably redouble the charge, and per-

perpetuate the miſeries of war: therefore ſhe now reſolved no longer to trifle with them, but vigorouſly to ſet to the work, and making choice of ſome of her moſt renowned Engliſh commanders, committed to their charge the conduct of an army royal, compleatly armed, and well paid, wherewith they began the proſecution of that arch-traitor Tyrone, and with great ſucceſs in a ſhort time, though not without the expence of much Engliſh blood, and above a million of money, brought him upon his knees. And howſoever before this glorious work was fully accompliſhed, it pleaſed God to put a period to her days, yet ſhe lived long enough to ſee juſt vengeance brought down upon the head of that unatural diſturber of the peace of the kingdom, himſelf in a manner wholly deſerted, his country moſt miſerably waſted, and a general deſolation and famine brought in, mightily conſuming what was left undevoured by the ſword. 1641.

The miſerable condition of Ireland when King James came to the crown of England.

It is very eaſy to conjecture in what a moſt miſerable condition Ireland then was, the Engliſh colonies being for the moſt part barbarouſly rooted out, the remainders degenerated into Iriſh manners and names, the very Iriſh themſelves moſt mightily waſted and deſtroyed by the late wars, and thereby much of the kingdom depopulated, in every place large monuments of calamity and undiſcontinued troubles. King James of bleſſed memory found it, at his firſt acceſſion to the crown of England; in this deplorable eſtate; whereupon he preſently took into his care the peaceable ſettlement of Ireland, and civilizing of the people: and conceiving that the powerful conjunction of England and Scotland would now over-

1641. His lenity towards the Iriſh rebels, and his endeavours for civil reformation.

aw the Iriſh, and contain them in their due obedience, he reſolved not to take any advantage of thoſe forfeitures and great confiſcations which he was moſt juſtly intituled unto by Tyrone's rebellion; but out of his royal bounty and princely magnificence, reſtored all the natives to the entire poſſeſſion of their own lands. A work moſt munificent in itſelf, and ſuch as he had reaſon to believe would for the time to come perpetually oblige their obedience to the Crown of England. And in this ſtate, the kingdom continued under ſome indifferent terms of peace and tranquility, until the ſixth year of his reign: then did the earl of Tyrone take up new thoughts of riſing in arms, and into his rebellious deſign he eaſily drew the whole province of Ulſter, then entirely at his devotion; but his plot failed; and he finding himſelf not able to get together any conſiderable forces, he with the principal of his adherents, quitting the kingdom, fled into Spain, leaving ſome buſy incendiaries to foment thoſe beginnings he had laid for a new rebellion in Ireland, and promiſing ſpeedily to return well attended with foreign ſuccours to their aid: but by the great bleſſing of Almighty God upon the wiſe counſels of that king, and the careful endeavours of his vigilant miniſters, the diſtempers occaſioned by the noiſe of that commotion were ſoon allayed, and Tyrone never returning, the peace of the kingdom much confirmed and ſettled. King James hereupon being now ſo juſtly provoked by the high ingratitude of thoſe rebellious traitors, cauſed their perſons to be attainted, their lands to be ſeized, and thoſe ſix counties within the province of Ulſter which belonged unto them, to be ſurveyed, and all (except

(except ſome ſmall parts of them reſerved to gratify the well affected natives) to be diſtributed in certain proportions among Britiſh undertakers, who came over and ſettled themſelves, and many other Britiſh families, in thoſe parts: By this means the foundations of ſome good towns, ſoon after encompaſſed with ſtone-walls, were preſently laid, ſeveral caſtles and houſes of ſtrength built in ſeveral parts of the country, great numbers of Britiſh inhabitants there ſettled, to the great comfort and ſecurity of the whole kingdom. And the ſame courſe was taken likewiſe for the better aſſurance of the peace in the country in the plantation of ſeveral parts of Leinſter, where the Iriſh had made incurſions, and violently expelled the old Engliſh out of their poſſeſſions. But howſoever the king was by due courſe of law juſtly intitled to all their whole eſtates there; yet he was graciouſly pleaſed to take but one fourth part of their lands, which was delivered over likewiſe into the hands of Britiſh undertakers, who with great coſt and much induſtry planted themſelves ſo firmly, as they became of great ſecurity to the country, and were a moſt ſpecial means to introduce civility in thoſe parts: ſo as now the whole kingdom began exceedingly to flouriſh in coſtly buildings, and all manner of improvements; the people to multiply and increaſe, and the very Iriſh ſeem'd to be much ſatisfied with the benefits of that peaceable government, and general tranquility which they ſo happily enjoyed. 1641.

King Charles's great readineſs to redreſs the grievances preſented unto him by the Iriſh commiſſioners, 1640.

And now of late ſuch was the great indulgence of king Charles our ſovereign that now reigneth, to his ſubjects of Ireland, as that in the year 1640, upon their com-

1641. plaints, and a general remonſtrance ſent over unto him from both houſes of parliament, then ſitting at Dublin, by a committee of four temporal * lords of the upper houſe, and twelve members of the houſe of commons, with inſtructions to repreſent the heavy preſſures they had for ſome time ſuffered under the government of the earl of Strafford. He took their grievances into his royal conſideration, deſcended ſo far to their ſatisfaction, as that he heard them himſelf, and made preſent proviſions for their redreſs: and upon the deceaſe of Mr. Wandsford, maſter of the rolls in Ireland, and then lord deputy here under the ſaid earl of Strafford, who ſtill continued lord lieutenant of this kingdom (though then accuſed of high-treaſon, and impriſoned in the tower of London, by the parliament of England) his majeſty ſent a commiſſion of government to the lord Dillon of Kilkenny-weſt, and ſir William Parſons, knight and baronet, maſter of the wards in Ireland, yet ſoon after finding the choice of the lord Dillon to be much diſguſted by the committee, he did, at their motion, cauſe the ſaid commiſſion to be cancelled, and with their conſent and approbation, placed the government upon ſir William Parſons, and ſir John Borlace, knight, maſter of the ordnance, both eſteemed perſons of great integrity; and the maſter of the wards, by reaſon of his very long continued employment

Sir Will. Parſons and ſir John Borlace made lords juſtices.

* The Lord viſcount Gormanſtone, L. viſcount Kilmaloc, L. viſcount Caſtelo, L. viſcount Baltinglas.

Nic. Plunket, Digby, Richard Fitzharret, Nic. Barnewall, eſq; for Leinſter. Sir Hardreſs Waller, Jo. Welſh, ſir Donnogh Mac-Carty, for Munſter. Robert Linch, Geffry Brown, Thomas Burk, for Conaught, Sir William Cole, ſir James Mongomery, for Ulſter.

ment in the ſtate, his particular knowledge of the kingdom, much valued and well beloved among the people. They took the ſword upon the 9th of February, 1640; and in the firſt place they applied themſelves with all manner of gentle lenitives to mollify the ſharp humours raiſed by the rigid paſſages in the former government. They declared themſelves againſt all ſuch proceedings lately uſed, as they found any ways varying from the common law; they gave all due encouragement to the parliament then ſitting, to endeavour the reaſonable eaſe and contentment of the people, freely aſſenting to all ſuch acts as really tended to a legal reformation: they betook themſelves wholly to the advice of the council, and cauſed all matters, as well of the crown, as popular intereſt, to be handled in his majeſty's courts of juſtice, no ways admiting the late exorbitances (ſo bitterly decried in parliament) of paper-petitions, or bills in civil cauſes, to be brought before them at the council-board, or before any other by their authority: they, by his majeſty's gracious directions, gave way to the parliament to abate the ſubſidies (there given in the earl of Strafford's time, and then in collection) from 40000l. each ſubſidy, to 12000l. a-piece, ſo low did they think fit to reduce them: and they were further content (becauſe they ſaw his majeſty moſt abſolutely reſolved to give the Iriſh agents full ſatisfaction) to draw up two acts to be paſſed in the parliament, moſt impetuouſly deſired by the natives: the one was the act of Limitations, which unqueſtionably ſettled all eſtates of land in the kingdom, quietly enjoyed without claim or interruption for the ſpace of ſixty years immediately pre-

1641.

They apply themſelves to give contentment to the people.

1641. ceding: the other was for the relinquiſhment of the right and title which his majeſty had to the four counties in Conaught, legally found for him by ſeveral inquiſitions taken in them, and ready to be diſpoſed of, upon a due ſurvey, to Britiſh undertakers; as alſo to ſome territories of good extent in Munſter, and the county of Clare, upon the ſame title.

Thus was the preſent government moſt ſweetly tempered, and carried on with great lenity and moderation; the lords juſtices and council wholly departing from the rigour of former courſes, did gently unbend themſelves into a happy and juſt compliance with the ſeaſonable deſires of the people. And his majeſty, that he might further teſtify his own ſettled reſolution for the continuation thereof with the ſame tender hand over them, having firſt given full ſatisfaction in all things to the ſaid committee of parliament, ſtill attending their diſpatch, did about the latter end of May, 1641, declare Robert earl of Leiceſter, lord lieutenant general of the kingdom of Ireland. He was heir to ſir Phillip Sidney his uncle, as well as to ſir Henry Sidney, his grandfather, who with great honour and much integrity long continued chief governour of Ireland during the reign of queen Elizabeth; and being a perſon of excellent abilities by nature, great acquiſitions from his own private induſtry and publick imployment abroad, of exceeding great temper and moderation, was never engaged in any publick preſſures of the common-wealth, and therefore moſt likely to prove a juſt and gentle governour, moſt pleaſing and acceptable to the people.

The earl of Leiceſter declared lord lieutenant of Ireland, May 1641.

More-

1641.

The papists permitted privately to enjoy the free exercise of their Religion.

Moreover the romish catholicks now privately enjoyed the free exercise of their religion throughout the whole kingdom, according to the doctrine of the church of Rome. They had by the over great indulgence of the late governours, their titular arch-bishops, bishops, vicars-general, provincial consistories, deans, abbots, priors, nuns, who all lived freely, tho' somewhat covertly among them, and without controul, exercised a voluntary jurisdiction over them; they had their priests, jesuits, and fryars, who were of late years exceedingly multiplied, and in great numbers returned out of Spain, Italy, and other foreign parts, where the children of the natives of Ireland that way devoted, were sent usually to receive their education. And these without any manner of restraint, had quietly settled themselves in all the chief towns, villages, noblemen and private gentlemens houses throughout the kingdom. So as the private exercise of all their religious rites and ceremonies were freely enjoyed by them, without any manner of disturbance, and not any of the laws put in execution, whereby heavy penalties were to be inflicted upon transgressors in that kind.

The good agreement between the Irish and English in all parts of the kingdom.

And for the ancient animosities and hatred which the Irish had been ever observed to bear unto the English nation, they seemed now to be quite deposited and buried in a firm conglutination of their affections and national obligations passed between them. The two nations had now lived together forty years in peace, with great security and comfort, which had in a manner consolidated them into one body, knit and compacted together with all those bonds and ligatures of friendship, alliance,

1641. ance and conſanguinity, as might make up a conſtant and perpetual union betwixt them. Their intermarriages were frequent, goſſipred, foſtering (relations of much dearneſs among the Iriſh) together with all others of tenancy, neighbourhood, and ſervice interchangeably paſſed among them. Nay, they had made as it were a kind of mutual tranſmigration into each others manners, many Engliſh being ſtrangely degenerated into Iriſh affections and cuſtoms; and many Iriſh eſpecially of the better ſort, having taken up the Engliſh language, apparel, and decent manner of living in their private houſes. And ſo great an advantage did they find by the Engliſh commerce and cohabitation in the profits and high improvements of their lands and native commodities, ſo incomparably beyond what they ever formerly enjoyed, or could expect to raiſe by their own proper induſtry, as ſir Phelim O Neal, and many others of the prime leaders in this rebellion, had not long before turned their Iriſh tenants off their lands, as ſome of them ſaid to me (when I enquired the reaſon of their ſo doing) even to ſtarve upon the mountains, while they took in Engliſh, who were able to give them much greater rents, and more certainly pay the ſame. A matter that was much taken notice of, and eſteemed by many, as moſt highly conducing to the ſecurity of the Engliſh intereſts, and plantation among them. So as all theſe circumſtances duly weighed together with the removal of the late obſtructions, the great increaſe of trade, and many other evident ſymptoms of a flouriſhing common-wealth, it was believed even by the wiſeſt and beſt experienced in the affairs of Ireland, that the peace and tranquility

lity of the kingdom was now fully ſettled, and moſt likely in all humane probability to continue, without any conſiderable interruption, in the preſent felicity and great proſperity it now enjoyed under the government of his majeſty that now reigneth. 1641.

The parliament adjourned, Aug. 1641.

In Auguſt 1641, the lords juſtices and council finding the popiſh party in both houſes of parliament to be grown to ſo great a height, as was ſcarcely compatible with the preſent government, were very deſirous to have an adjournment made for three months, which was readily aſſented unto, and performed by the members of both houſes. And this was done not many days before the return of the committee formerly mentioned, out of England: they arrived at Dublin about the latter end of Auguſt, and preſently after their return they applied themſelves to the lords juſtices and council, deſiring to have all thoſe acts and other graces granted by his majeſty, made known unto the people by proclamations, to be ſent down into ſeveral parts of the country; which while the lords juſtices took into their conſideration, and ſat daily compoſing of acts to be paſſed the next ſeſſion of parliament, for the benefit of his majeſty, and the good of his ſubjects, they ſeemed with great contentment and ſatisfaction to retire into the country to their ſeveral habitations, that they might there refreſh themſelves in the mean ſeaſon.

The Iriſh commiſſioners return out of England and land at Dublin.

The

1641. The diſcovery of the conſpiracy of the Iriſh, to ſeize upon the caſtle and city of DUBLIN; and their general riſing at the ſame time, in all the Northren parts of this kingdom.

The happy Condition of Ireland at the time of the breaking out of the rebellion, October, 23, 1641.

SUCH was now the ſtate and preſent condition of the kingdom of Ireland, ſuch the great ſerenity through the gentle and happy tranſaction of the publick affairs here; as that the late Iriſh army raiſed for the invaſion of the kingdom of Scotland, being peaceably diſbanded, their arms and munition, by the ſingular care of the Lords Juſtices and Council brought into his Majeſty's ſtores within the city of Dublin; there was no manner of warlike preparations, no reliques of any kind of diſorders proceeding from the late levies, nor indeed any noiſe of war remaining within theſe coaſts. Now while in this great calm the Britiſh continued in a moſt deep ſecurity, under the aſſurance of the bleſſed peace of this land; while all things were carried on with great temper and moderation in the preſent government, and all men ſat pleaſantly enjoying the comfortable fruits of their own labours, without the leaſt thoughts or apprehenſion of either tumults or other troubles, the differences between his Majeſty and his ſubjects of Scotland being about this time fairly compoſed and ſettled: There broke out upon the 23d of October, 1641, a moſt deſperate and formidable rebellion, and univerſal defection and general revolt; wherein not only all the meer Iriſh, but almoſt all the old Engliſh that adhered to the church of Rome, were totally involved. And becauſe it will be neceſſary to leave

leave ſome monuments hereof to poſterity, I ſhall obſerve the beginnings and firſt motions, as well as trace out the progreſs, of a Rebellion ſo execrable in itſelf, ſo odious to God and the whole World, as no age, no kingdom, no people can parallel the horrid cruelties, the abominable murders that have been without number, as well as without mercy, committed up the Britiſh inhabitants throughout the land, of what age or ſex, of what quality or condition ſoever they were. 1641.

The firſt plot for the rebellion carried on with ſo great ſecrecy, as none of the Engliſh had notice of it before it was ready to be put in execution.

And firſt I muſt needs ſay, howſoever I have obſerved in the nature of the Iriſh, ſuch a kind of dull and deep reſervedneſs, as makes them with much ſilence and ſecrecy to cary on their buſineſs: yet I cannot but conſider with great admiration, how this miſchievous plot which was to be ſo generally at the ſame time, and at ſo many ſeveral places acted, and therefore neceſſarily known to ſo many ſeveral perſons, ſhould without any noiſe be brought to ſuch maturity, as to arrive at the very point of execution, without any noiſe or intimation given to any two of that huge multitude of perſons who were generally deſigned (as moſt of them did) to periſh in it. For beſides the uncertain preſumptions that Sir William Cole had of a commotion to be raiſed by the Iriſh in the province of Ulſter about a fortnight before this rebellion broke openly out, and ſome certain intelligence which he received of the ſame two days before the Iriſh roſe; I could never hear that any Engliſh man received any notice of this conſpiracy, before the very evening that it was to be generally put in execution. It is true, Sir William Cole, upon the very firſt apprehenſions of ſomething that he conceived to be hatching among the Iriſh

1641. Iriſh, did write a letter to the lords juſtices and council, dated the 11th of October, 1641, wherein he gave them notice of the great reſort made to ſir Phelim O Neal, in the county of Tyrone, as alſo to the houſe of the lord Mac-Guire, in the county of Fermanagh, and that by ſeveral ſuſpected perſons, fit inſtruments for miſchief. As alſo, that the ſaid lord Mac-Guire had of late made ſeveral journies into the Pale, and other places, and had ſpent his time much in writing letters, and ſending diſpatches abroad. Theſe letters were received by the lords juſtices and council; and they, in anſwer to them, required him to be very vigilant and induſtrious to find out what ſhould be the occaſion of thoſe ſeveral meetings, and ſpeedily to advertiſe them thereof, or of any other particular that he conceived might tend to the publick ſervice of the ſtate. And for that which was revealed to ſir William Cole upon the 21ſt of October, the ſame month, by John Cormacke, and Flarty Mac-Hugh, from Brian Mac-Cohanaught, Mac-Guire, touching the reſolutions of the Iriſh, to ſeize upon his majeſty's caſtle and city of Dublin, to murder the lords juſtices and council of Ireland, and the reſt of the proteſtants there, and to ſeize upon all the caſtles, forts, ſea-ports, and holds that were in poſſeſſion of the proteſtants within the kingdom of Ireland, I find by the examination of John Cormacke, taken upon oath at Weſtminſter, Nov. 18, 1644, That the ſaid ſir William Cole did diſpatch letters to the lords juſtices and council the ſame day to give them notice thereof. But I can alſo teſtify that thoſe letters (whether they were intercepted, or that they otherways miſcarried, I cannot

not ſay) came not unto their hands; as alſo that they had not any certain notice of this general conſpiracy of the Iriſh, ununtil the 22d of October, in the very evening before the day appointed for the ſurprize of the city and caſtle of Dublin. Then the conſpirators being many of them arrived within the city, and having that day met at the lion tavern near Copper-alley, and there turning the drawer out of the room, ordered their affairs together, drunk healths upon their knees to the happy ſucceſs of the next morning's work: Owen O Conally a gentleman of a meer Iriſh family, but one that had long lived among the Engliſh, and been trained up in the true proteſtant religion, came unto the lord juſtice Parſons, about nine of the clock that evening, and made him a broken relation of a great conſpiracy for the ſeizing upon his majeſty's caſtle of Dublin: he gave him the names of ſome of the chief conſpirators, aſſured him they were come up expreſly to the town for the ſame purpoſe, and that next morning they would undoubtedly attempt, and ſurely effect it, if their deſign was not ſpeedily prevented, and that he had underſtood all this from Hugh Mac-Mahon, one of the chief conſpirators, who was then in the town, and came up but the very ſame afternoon for the execution of the plot; and with whom indeed he had been drinking ſomewhat liberally, and as the truth is, did then make ſuch a broken relation of a matter that ſeemed ſo incredible in itſelf, as that his lordſhip gave very little belief to it at firſt, in regard it came from an obſcure perſon, and one as he conceived ſomewhat diſtempered at that time. But howſoever the lord Parſons gave him order

1641.

Owen O Conally diſcovers the conſpiracy of the Iriſh to the lord Parſons the very evening before it was to be executed.

1641. der to go again to Mac-Mahon, and get out of him as much certainty of the plot, with as many particular circumſtances, as he could, ſtraitly charging him to return back unto him the ſame evening. And in the mean time, having by ſtrict command given to the conſtable of the caſtle, taken order to have the gates thereof well guarded, as alſo with the mayor and ſheriffs of the city to have ſtrong watches ſet upon all the parts of the ſame, and to make ſtay of all ſtrangers, he went privately about ten of the clock that night to the lord Borlace's houſe without the town, and there acquainted him with what he underſtood from Conally. They ſent for ſuch a council as they knew then to be in town. But there came only unto them that night Sir Thomas Rotheram, and Sir Robert Meredith, chancellor of the exchequer, with theſe they fell into conſultation what was fit to be done, attending the return of Conally. And finding that he ſtaid ſomewhat longer then the time prefixed, they ſent out in ſearch after him, and found him ſeized on by the watch, and ſo he had been carried away to priſon, and the diſcovery that night diſappointed, had not one of the lord Parſon's ſervants expreſly ſent amongſt others to walk the ſtreets, and attend the motion of the ſaid Conally, come in and reſcued him, and brought him to the lord Borlace's houſe. Conally having ſomewhat recovered himſelf from his diſtemper, occaſioned partly, as he ſaid himſelf, by the horror of the plot revealed to him, partly by his too liberal drinking with Mac-Mahon, that he might the more eaſily get away from him (he beginning much to ſuſpect and fear his diſcovering of the plot) confirmed what he had formerly related,

lated, and added theſe farther particulars ſet down in his examination, as followeth. 1641.

The examination of Owen O Conally, gentleman, taken before us whoſe names enſue, Octob. 22, 1641.

Who being duly ſworn, and examined, ſaith, that he being at Monimore, in the county of London-derry on Tueſday laſt, he received a letter from colonel Hugh Oge Mac-Mahon, deſiring him to come to Conaught in the county of Monaghan, and to be with him on Wedneſday and Thurſday laſt, whereupon he, this examinate came to Conaught, on Wedneſday night laſt, and finding the ſaid Hugh come to Dublin, followed him hither: he came hither about ſix of the clock this evening, and forthwith went to the lodging of the ſaid Hugh, to the houſe near the boat in Oxmantown, and there he found the ſaid Hugh, and came with the ſaid Hugh into the town, near the pillory, to the lodging of the lord Mac-Guire, where they found not the lord within, and there they drank a cup of beer, and then went back again to the ſaid Hugh his lodging. He ſaith, that at the lord Mac-Guire his lodging, the ſaid Hugh told him that there were, and would be this night great numbers of noblemen, and gentlemen of the Iriſh papiſts from all the parts of the kingdom in this town, who with himſelf had determined to take the caſtle of Dublin, and poſſeſs themſelves of all his majeſty's ammunition there to-morrow morning, being Saturday, and that they intended firſt to batter the chimnies of the ſaid town, and if the city would not yield, then to batter down the houſes, and ſo to cut off all the proteſtants that

1641. would not join with them. He further ſaith, that the ſaid Hugh then told him, that the Iriſh had prepared men in all parts of the kingdom, to deſtroy all the Engliſh inhabiting there to-morrow morning by ten of the clock, and that in all the ſea-ports, and other towns in the kingdom, all the proteſtants ſhould be killed this night, and that all the poſts that could be, could not prevent it: and further ſaith, that he moved the ſaid Hugh to forbear executing of that buſineſs, and to diſcover it to the ſtate, for the ſaving of his own eſtate; who ſaid he could not help it, but ſaid, that they did owe their allegiance to the king, and would pay him all his rights, but that they did this for the tyrannical government was over them, and to imitate Scotland, who got a privilege by that courſe. And he further ſaith, that when he was with the ſaid Hugh in his lodging the ſecond time, the ſaid Hugh, ſwore that he ſhould not go out of his lodging that night, but told him that he ſhould go with him the next morning to the caſtle, and ſaid, if this matter were diſcovered, ſome body ſhould die for it, whereupon this examinate feigned ſome neceſſity for his eaſement, went down out of the chamber, and left his ſword in pawn, and the ſaid Hugh ſent his man down with him, and when this examinate came down into the yard, and finding an opportunity, he, this examinate leaped over a wall, and two pales, and ſo came to the lord juſtice Parſons.

Octob. 22, 1641.

William Parſons,
Tho. Rotheram, Owen O Conally.
Rob. Meredith.

Hereupon

Hereupon the lords took preſent order to have a watch privately ſet upon the lodging of Mac-Mahon, as alſo upon the lord Mac-Guire, and ſo they ſate up all that night in conſultation, having far ſtronger perſumptions upon this latter examination taken, than any ways at firſt they could entertain. The lords juſtices upon a further conſideration (there being come unto them early next morning ſeveral other of the privy council) ſent before day, and ſeized upon Mac-Mahon, then with his ſervant in his own lodging; they at firſt made ſome little reſiſtance with their drawn ſwords, but finding themſelves over-maſtered, preſently yielded, and ſo they were brought before the lords juſtices and council ſtill ſitting at the lord Borlace's houſe: where upon examination he did without much difficulty confeſs the plot reſolutely, telling them, that on that very day all the forts and ſtrong places in Ireland would be taken. That he with the lord Mac-Guire, Hugh Birn, capt. Brian O Neal, and ſeveral other Iriſh gentlemen, were come up expreſly to ſurprize the caſtle of Dublin. That twenty men out of each county in the kingdom were to be here to join with them. That all the lords and gentlemen in the kingdom that were papiſts were engaged in this plot. That what was that day to be done in other parts of the country, was ſo far advanced by that time, as it was impoſſible for the wit of man to prevent it; and withal told them, that it was true, they had him in their power, and might uſe him how they pleaſed, but he was ſure he ſhould be revenged.

1641.

Mac-Mahon taken.

His confeſſion.

1641. By this time the noiſe of the conſpiracy began to be confuſedly ſpread abroad about the town, and advertiſement was brought unto the lords juſtices then in council, that great numbers of ſtrangers had been obſerved to come the laſt evening, and in the morning early unto the town, and moſt of them to ſet up their horſes in the ſuburbs: whereupon the lords having in the firſt place taken order for the apprehenſion of the lord Mac-Guire, removed themſelves for their better ſecurity unto the caſtle, where the body of the council then in town attended them at the ordinary place of their meeting there. In the firſt place they cauſed a preſent ſearch to be made for all ſuch horſes belonging to ſtrangers as were brought into any inns, and by that means they diſcovered ſome of the owners, who were preſently ſeized upon and committed to the caſtle of Dublin, having already delivered over to the cuſtody of the conſtable there, the lord Mac-Guire, and Hugh Mac-Mahon. Hugh Birn, and Roger Moor, chief of the conſpirators, eſcaped over the river in the night; colonel Plunket, captain Fox, with ſeveral others found means likewiſe to paſs away undiſcerned; and of the great numbers which came up out of ſeveral counties to be actors in taking of the caſtle and city of Dublin, there were not, through the ſlack purſuit and great negligence of the inhabitants, above thirty ſeized upon, moſt of them ſervants and inconſiderable perſons, thoſe of quality having ſo many good friends within the town, as they had very ill luck if apprehended. The ſame day before the lords roſe from council, they took order for this proclamation which here followeth to be made and publiſhed.

The lord Mac-Guire with ſeveral other of the conſpirators ſeized.

By

By the lords juſtices and council. 1641.

W. Parſons. John Borlace.

THESE are to make known and publiſh to all his majeſty's good ſubjects in this kingdom of Ireland, that there is a diſcovery made by us the lords juſtices and council, of a moſt diſloyal and deteſtable conſpiracy intended by ſome evil-affected Iriſh papiſts, againſt the lives of us the lords juſtices and council, and many other of his majeſty's faithful ſubjects, univerſally throughout this kingdom, and for the ſeizing not only of his majeſty's caſtle of Dublin, his majeſty's principal fort here, but alſo of the other fortifications in the kingdom. And ſeeing by the great goodneſs and abundant mercy of almighty God to his majeſty, and this ſtate and kingdom, thoſe wicked conſpiracies are brought to light, and ſome of the conſpirators committed to the caſtle of Dublin, by us, by his majeſty's authority, ſo as thoſe wicked and damnable plots are now diſappointed in the chief parts thereof: we therefore have thought fit hereby not only to make it publickly known, for the comfort of his majeſty's good and loyal ſubjects in all parts of the kingdom, but alſo hereby to require them, that they do with all confidence and chearfulneſs betake themſelves to their own defence, and ſtand upon their guard, ſo to render the more ſafety to themſelves, and all the kingdom beſides, and that they advertiſe us with all poſſible ſpeed of all occurrents, which may concern the peace and ſafety of the kingdom, and now to ſhew fully that faith and loyalty, which they have always ſhewn for the publick

1641. ſervices of the crown and kingdom, which we will value to his majeſty accordingly, and a ſpecial memory thereof will be retained for their advantage in due time. And we require that great care be taken that no levies of men be made for foreign ſervice, nor any men ſuffered to march upon any ſuch pretence. Given at his majeſty's caſtle of Dublin, the 23d of October, 1641.

R. Dillon, Ro. Digby, Ad. Loftus, J. Temple, Tho. Rotheram. Fr. Willoughby, J. Ware, Ro. Meredith.

God Save the King.

This proclamation was preſently printed, and ſeveral copies ſent down by expreſs meſſengers unto the principal noblemen and gentlemen in ſeveral parts of the country, where they cauſed them to be divers ways diſperſed, hoping that when the timely diſcovery of this conſpiracy, and the happy prevention in a great part, ſhould fully appear abroad, it would prove ſo great a diſcouragement to ſuch of the conſpirators as had not yet openly declared themſelves, as that they would thereby be contained within the bounds of their duty and obedience to his majeſty. The ſame night the lord Blaney arrived with the news of the ſurpriſal of his houſe, his wife, and his children, by the rebels of the county of Monaghan: next day came advertiſements from ſir Arthur Tyringham, of the taking of Newry; and then the ſad relations of burning, ſpoiling, and horrible murders committed within

The Iriſh riſe firſt in the province of Ulſter, and there burn, ſpoil, and deſtroy the Engliſh.

within the province of Ulſter, began to multiply, and ſeveral perſons every day, and almoſt every hour in every day, for a good while after, arrived like Job's meſſengers, telling the ſtory of their own ſufferings, and the fearful maſſacres of the poor Engliſh in thoſe parts from whence they came. Theſe things wrought ſuch a general conſternation and aſtoniſhment in the minds of all the Engliſh, and other inhabitants well-affected within the city, as they were much affrighted therewith, expecting every hour when the Iriſh, already crept into the town, joining with the Papiſts there, ſhould make the city a theatre whereon to act the ſecond part of that tragedy moſt bloodily begun in the northern parts by them. 1641.

And it added moſt extremely to theſe preſent fears, that ſeveral unhappy rumours (the great tormenters of the weaker ſex) were vainly ſpread abroad of the ſudden approach of great numbers of rebels out of the adjacent Iriſh counties unto the city: ſome would make us believe that they were diſcerned at ſome diſtance already marching down from the mountain ſide within view of the town; a report ſo credibly delivered by thoſe who pretended to be eye-witneſſes, that it drew ſome of the ſtate up to the plat-form of the caſtle to behold thoſe who were yet inviſible, though there were there that would not be perſuaded but that they ſaw the very motions of the men as they marched down the mountains. It was at the ſame time alſo generally noiſed abroad, that there were 10000 of the rebels gotten together in a body at the hill of Tarah, a place not above ſixteen miles diſtant from the town, and that they intended, with- False rumours ſpread of the rebels approach to the city of Dublin.

1641. out any further delay, to march on and preſently ſurpriſe the ſame. Theſe falſe rumours being unluckily ſpread, and by ſome fomented out of evil ends, exceedingly increaſed the preſent diſtractions of the people, and raiſed ſuch a panick fear among them, as about ſeven of the clock at night, the lords juſtices, and ſome of the council, being then in the council-chamber within the caſtle, there came in to them a gentleman of good quality, who having, not without much difficulty, as he pretended, recovered the gate of the caſtle, cauſed the warders then attending to draw up the bridge, aſſuring them that the rebels gathered together in great numbers, had already poſſeſſed themſelves of a good part of the town, and came now with great fury marching down the ſtreet that leads directly towards the caſtle-gate. But this fear was quickly removed by ſir Francis Willoughby, who being that day made governor of the caſtle, cauſed the draw-bridge to be let down, and ſo found this to be a falſe alarm, occaſioned by ſome miſtake fallen among the people, who continued waving up and down the ſtreets, prepoſſeſſed with ſtrange fears, and ſome of them upon ſome ſlender accident drawing their ſwords; others, that knew not the cauſe, thought fit to follow the example, and ſo came to appear to this gentleman, who was none of their company, as ſo many rebels coming up to enter the caſtle.

The lords juſtices and council conſult what courſe to take for the ſuppreſſing this rebellion.

Theſe were the firſt beginnings of our ſorrows, ill ſymptoms, and ſad preparatives to the enſuing evils: therefore the lords finding by ſeveral intelligences, though ſome purpoſely framed, that the power of the rebels was ſuddenly ſwollen up to ſo great a bulk,

and

and likely ſo faſt to multiply and increaſe upon them, thought it high time to conſider of the remedies, and in what condition they were to oppoſe, ſince they could not prevent, ſo imminent a danger. The rebellion now appeared, without all manner of queſtion, to be generally raiſed in all parts of the North, and like a torrent to come down moſt impetuouſly upon them: beſides, it was no ways improbable that all other parts of the kingdom would take fire and follow their example; they had the teſtimony of Mac-Mahon poſitive therein. The firſt thing therefore which they took into conſideration, was, how they were provided of money, arms, and munition; then, what companies of foot, and troops of horſe of the old army they were able to draw preſently together; as alſo what numbers of new men they could ſuddenly raiſe. For the firſt, they had this ſhort account from the vice-treaſurer, that there was no money in the Exchequer. And certainly it was a main policy in the firſt contrivers of this rebellion, to plot the breaking of it out at ſuch a time when the Exchequer ſhould be empty, and all the king's revenues, both certain and caſual, due for that half year, as well as the rents of all the Britiſh throughout the kingdom, ſhould be found ready either in the tenants or collectors hands in the country, and ſo neceſſarily fall under their power, as they did to their great advantage. For arms and munition, the ſtores were indifferently well furniſhed at this time: beſides ſeveral pieces of artillery of divers ſorts, moſt of them fitted for preſent ſervice; there were arms for near 10000 men, 1500 barrels of powder, with match and lead proportionable, laid

1641.

No money in the Exchequer.

1641. laid in by the earl of Strafford, late lord lieutenant, not long before, and deſigned another way, but ſo opportunely reſerved for this ſervice, as the good providence of God did exceedingly appear therein, but principally in the miraculous preſervation of them out of the hands of the rebels, who made the ſurpriſal of theſe proviſions, then all within the caſtle of Dublin (the common ſtorehouſe of them) a main part of their deſign. The old ſtanding army, as appears by this liſt, conſiſted only of 41 companies of foot, and 14 troops of horſe.

A liſt of his majeſty's army in Ireland, 1641. Before the rebellion began.

Foot companies, conſiſting of ſix officers, viz. captain, lieutenant, enſign, chyrurgeon, ſerjeant and drum, and forty four ſoldiers each company.

LORD lieutenant's guard - - -	44
Sir Robert Farrar - - -	44
Sir Thomas Wharton - - -	44
Sir George Saint-George - - -	44
Captain Francis Butler - - -	44
Sir William Saint-Leguer - - -	44
Lord Docwra - - - -	44
Lord Blany - - - -	44
Sir Robert Steward - - -	44
Lord Viſcount Rannelagh - -	44
Lord Viſcount Baltinglaſs - - -	44
Sir John Vaughan - - -	44
Capt. George Blount - - -	44
Sir Henry Tichburn - - -	44
Sir Frederick Hamilton - - -	44
Lord Caſtle-Stewart - - -	44

Sir

Sir Lorenzo Cary	44	1642.
Capt. Chicheſter Forteſcue	44	
Sir John Gifford	44	
Capt. John Barry	44	
Sir John Netterville	44	
Capt. Thomas Rockly	44	
Sir Arthur Tyringham	44	
Capt. Philip Wenman	44	
Capt. Charles Price	44	
Sir Charles Coot	44	
Capt. Thomas Games	44	
Sir Francis Willoughby	44	
Sir John Borlace	44	
Capt. Robert Baily	44	
Sir Arthur Loftus	44	
Capt. William Billingſly	44	
The Lord Eſmond	44	
The Lord Lambert	44	
Sir George Hamilton	44	
Lord Folliot	44	
Sir William Stewart	44	
Capt. Robert Biron	44	
Sir John Sherlock	44	
The Earl of Clanricard	44	
Capt. John Ogle	44	
Theſe companies contain officers	246	
Soldiers	2051	
In all	2297	

Horſe-Troops.

THE earl of Leiceſter lord lieutenant general, his troop conſiſting of captain, lieutenant, cornet, and horſe-men - 180

The earl of Ormond's troop, like officers and horſemen - - 107

The earl of Strafford's troop, like officers and horſe-men - - 58

Lord

1641. Lord Dillon's troop, like officers and horſemen - - - - 58
Lord Wilmot's troop, like officers and horſemen - - - - 58
Sir William Saint-Leguer, Lord Preſident of Munſter, the like - - 58
Lord viſcount Moor, the like - 58
Lord viſcount Grandiſon, the like - 58
Lord vif. Cromwell of Lecale the like 58
Capt. Arthur Chicheſter, the like - 58
Sir George Wentworth, the like - 58
Sir John Borlace, the like - - 58
Lord viſcount Conway, the like - 58
Sir Adam Loftus, the like - - 58

Theſe troops contain officers - 42
Horſe-men - - - - 901

In all 943

Theſe were ſo ſtrangly diſperſed, moſt of them into the remote parts of the kingdom, for the guard of ſeveral forts and other places, as it fell out to be in a manner moſt impoſſible to draw a conſiderable number of them together in any time, either for the defence of the city, or the making head againſt the rebels in the north: and beſides it was much to be ſuſpected, the companies lying ſeverally ſo remote, and ill-furniſhed with munition, could with little ſafety march to Dublin. Yet the lords ſent patents preſently away to require ſeveral companies of foot, and ſome troops of horſe preſently to riſe and march up from their ſeveral garriſons towards the city of Dublin. And now it was held high time to give an account unto his majeſty, then at Edinburgh, in his kingdom of Scotland, and

Letters from the Lords Juſtices and Council to the Lord Lieutenant.

and to the lord lieutenant continuing ſtill at London (the parliament ſtill ſitting there) of the breaking out of the rebellion, this ill condition of the kingdom, the wants of the ſtate, and the ſupplies abſolutely neceſſary for their preſent defence and preſervation. And becauſe the letter to the lord lieutenant doth moſt clearly repreſent ſeveral particulars which may much conduce to the knowledge of the affairs, I have thought fit to inſert a true copy of it, which here followeth. 1641.

May it pleaſe your lordſhip,

ON Friday the two and twentieth of this month, after nine of the clock at night, this bearer, Owen Conally, ſervant to ſir John Clotworthy, knight, came to me the lord juſtice Parſons to my houſe, and in great ſecrecy (as indeed the cauſe did require) diſcovered unto me a moſt wicked and damnable conſpiracy, plotted, contrived, and intended to be alſo acted by ſome evil-affected Iriſh papiſts here. The plot was on the then next morning, Saturday the 23d of October, being St. Ignatius's day, about nine of the clock, to ſurpriſe his majeſty's caſtle of Dublin, his majeſty's chief ſtrength of this kingdom, wherein alſo is the principal magazine of his majeſty's arms and munition; and it was agreed it ſeems among them, that at the ſame hour all other his majeſty's forts and magazines of arms and munition in this kingdom, ſhould be ſurpriſed by others of thoſe conſpirators; and further, that all the proteſtants and Engliſh throughout the whole kingdom, that would not join with them, ſhould be cut off, and ſo thoſe papiſts ſhould then become poſ-

ſeſſed

1641. ſeſſed of the government and kingdom at the ſame inſtant.

As ſoon as I had that intelligence, I then immediately repaired to the lord juſtice Borlace, and thereupon we inſtantly aſſembled the council, and having ſat all that night, as alſo all the next day, the 23d of October, in regard of the ſhort time left us for the conſultation of ſo great and weighty a matter, although it was not poſſible for us upon ſo few hours warning, to prevent thoſe other great miſchiefs which were to be acted, even at that ſame hour, and ſo great a diſtance as in all the other parts of the kingdom. Yet ſuch was our induſtry therein, having cauſed the caſtle to be that night ſtrengthned with armed men, and the city guarded, as the wicked councils of thoſe evil perſons, by the great mercy of God to us, became defeated, ſo as they were not able to act that part of their treachery, which indeed was principal, and which, if they could have effected, would have rendered the reſt of their purpoſes the more eaſy.

Having ſo ſecured the caſtle, we forthwith laid about for the apprehenſion of as many of the offenders as we could, many of them having come to this city but that night, intending it ſeems the next morning to act their parts in thoſe treacherous and bloody crimes.

The firſt man apprehended was one Hugh Mac-Mahon, eſq; (grandſon to the traitor Tyron) a gentleman of good fortune in the county of Monaghan, who with others, was taken that morning in Dublin, having at the time of their apprehenſion offered a little reſiſtance with their ſwords drawn, but finding thoſe we employed againſt them more in number, and better armed, yielded. He upon his examination

examination before us at firſt denied all, but in the end, when he ſaw we laid it home to him, he confeſſed enough to deſtroy himſelf, and impeach ſome others, as by a copy of his examination herewith ſent, may appear to your lordſhip. We then committed him until we might have further time to examine him again, our time being come more needful to be employed in action for ſecuring this place, than in examining. This Mac-Mahon had been abroad, and ſerved the king of Spain as a lieutenant colonel. 1641.

Upon conference with him and others, and calling to mind a letter we received the week before from ſir William Cole, a copy whereof we ſend your lordſhip here incloſed, we gathered that the lord Mac-Guire was to be an actor in ſurprizing the caſtle of Dublin, wherefore we held it neceſſary to ſecure him immediately, thereby alſo to ſtartle and deter the reſt, when they found him laid faſt. His lordſhip obſerving what we had done, and the city in arms, fled from his lodging early before day, it ſeems diſguiſed; for we had laid a watch about his lodging, ſo as we think he could not paſs without diſguiſing himſelf, yet he could not get forth of the city, ſo ſurely guarded were all the gates.

There were found at his lodging hidden ſome hatchets, with the helves newly cut off cloſe to the hatchets, and many ſkeans, and ſome hammers.

In the end the ſheriffs of the city, whom we employed in ſtrict ſearch of his lordſhip, found him hidden in a cockloft, in an obſcure houſe far from his lodging, where they apprehended him, and brought him before us.

He

1641. He denied all, yet ſo, as he could not deny but he heard of it in the country, though he would not tell us when, or from whom; and confeſſed that he had not advertiſed us thereof, as in duty he ought to have done. But we were ſo well ſatisfied of his guiltineſs by all circumſtances, as we doubted not upon further examination, when we could be able to ſpare time for it, to find it apparent: wherefore we held it of abſolute neceſſity to commit him cloſe priſoner, as we had formerly done Mac-Mahon, and others; where we left him on the three and twentieth of this month in the morning, about the ſame hour they intended to have been maſters of that place, and this city.

That morning alſo we laid wait for all thoſe ſtrangers that came the night before to town, and ſo many were apprehended whom we find reaſon to believe to have hands in this conſpiracy, as we were forced to diſperſe them into ſeveral goals: and we ſince found that there came many horſe-men into the ſuburbs that night, who finding the plot diſcovered, diſperſed themſelves immediately.

When the hour approached, which was deſigned for ſurpriſing the caſtle, great numbers of ſtrangers were obſerved to come to town in great parties ſeveral ways; who not finding admittance at the gates, ſtaid in the ſuburbs, and there grew numerous, to the terror of the inhabitants. We therefore to help that, drew up inſtantly and ſigned a proclamation, commanding all men, not dwellers in the city and ſuburbs, to depart within an hour, upon pain of death, and made it a-like penal to thoſe that ſhould harbour them; which proclamation the ſheriffs immediately proclaimed in all the ſuburbs by our commandment: which

which being accompanied with the example and terrour of the committal of thoſe two eminent men, and others, occaſioned the departure of thoſe multitudes: and in this caſe, all our lives and fortunes, and above all, his majeſty's regal power and authority being ſtill at the ſtake, we muſt vary from ordinary proceedings, not only in executing martial law as we ſee cauſe, but alſo in putting ſome to the rack to find out the bottom of this treaſon, and all the contrivers thereof, which we forſee will not otherwiſe be done. 1641.

On that twenty third day of this month, we conceiving that as ſoon as it ſhould be known that the plot for ſeizing Dublin caſtle was diſappointed, all the conſpirators in the remote parts might be ſomewhat diſheartned, as on the other ſide the good ſubjects would be comforted, and would then with the more confidence ſtand on their guard, did prepare to ſend abroad to all parts of the kingdom this proclamation which we ſend you here incloſed: and ſo having provided that the city and caſtle ſhould be ſo guarded as upon the ſudden we could promiſe, we concluded that long continued conſultation.

On Saturday at twelve of the clock at night the lord Blany came to town and brought us the ill news of the rebels ſeizing with two hundred men his houſe at Caſtle-Blany in the county of Monaghan, and his wife, children, and ſervants; as alſo a houſe of the earl of Eſſex, called Carrickmacroſs with two hundred men, and a houſe of ſir Henry Spotſwood in the ſame county, with two hundred men; where there being a little plantation of Britiſh, they plundred the town and burnt divers houſes; and it ſince appears that they

1641. burnt divers other villages, and robbed and ſpoiled many Engliſh, and none but proteſtants; leaving the Engliſh papiſts untouched as well as the Iriſh.

On Sunday morning at three of the clock, we had intelligence from ſir Arthur Tyringham, that the Iriſh in the town had that day alſo broken up the king's ſtore of arms and munition at the Newry, where the ſtore of arms had lien ever ſince the peace, and where they found fourſcore and ten barrels of powder, and armed themſelves, and put them under the command of ſir Con Magennis, knight, and one Creely a monk, and plundred the Engliſh there and diſarmed the garriſon. And this, though too much, is all that we yet hear is done by them.

However, we ſhall ſtand on our guard the beſt we may to defend the caſtle and city principally, thoſe being the places of moſt importance. But if the conſpiracy be ſo univerſal as Mac-Mahon ſaith in his examination it is, namely, that all the counties in the kingdom have conſpired in it, which we admire ſhould ſo fall out in this time of univerſal peace, and carried with that ſecrecy, that none of the Engliſh could have any friend among them to diſcloſe it, then indeed we ſhall be in high extremity, and the kingdom in the greateſt danger that ever it underwent, conſidering our want of men, money and arms, to enable us to encounter ſo great multitudes as they can make, if all ſhould join againſt us, the rather, becauſe we have pregnant cauſe to doubt that the combination hath taken force by the incitement of jeſuits, prieſts and fryars.

All

All the hope we have here, is, the old Engliſh of the pale, and ſome other parts, will continue conſtant to the king in their fidelity, as they did in former rebellions. 1641.

And now in theſe ſtraits, we muſt under God, depend on aid forth of England for our preſent ſupply with all ſpeed, eſpecially money, we having none, and arms, which we ſhall exceedingly want; without which, we are very doubtful what account we ſhall give to the king of his kingdom.

But if the conſpiracy be only of Mac-Guire and ſome other Iriſh of the kindred and friends of the rebel Tyrone and other Iriſh in the counties of Down, Monaghan, Cavan, Fermanagh, and Armagh, and no general revolt following thereupon, we hope then to make head againſt them in a reaſonable meaſure, if we be enabled with money from thence, without which we can raiſe no forces, ſo great is our want of money, as we have formerly written, and our debt ſo great to the army: nor is money to be borrowed here; and if it were, we would engage all our eſtates for it: neither have we any hope to get in his majeſty's rents and ſubſidies in theſe diſturbances, which add extreamly to our neceſſities.

On Sunday morning the twenty fourth, we met again in council, and ſent to all parts of the kingdom, the encloſed proclamation, and iſſued patents to draw hither ſeven horſe-troops as a farther ſtrength to this place, and to be with us in caſe the rebels ſhall make head and march hitherward, ſo as we may be neceſſitated to give them battle. We alſo then ſent away our letters to the preſident of both the provinces of Munſter and Conaught: and we likewiſe then ſent letters to the ſheriffs of

1641. the five counties of the pale, to conſult of the beſt way and means of their own preſervation. That day the lord vice com. Gormanſtoun, the lord vice com. Nitterville, the lord vice com. Fitz-Williams, and the lord of Houth, and ſince the earls of Kildare and Fingal, and the lords of Dunſany and Slane, all noblemen of the Engliſh pale came unto us, declaring that they then and not before heard of the matter, and profeſſed loyalty to his majeſty, and concurrence with the ſtate, but ſaid they wanted arms, whereof they deſired to be ſupplied by us, which we told them we would willingly do, as relying much on their faithfulneſs to the crown: but we were not yet certain whether or no we had enough to arm our ſtrength for the guard of the city and caſtle; yet we ſupplied ſuch of them as lay in moſt danger, with a ſmall proportion of arms and munition for their houſes, leſt they ſhould conceive we apprehended any jealouſy of them. And we commanded them to be very diligent in ſending out watches, and making all the diſcoveries they could, and thereof to advertiſe us, which they readily promiſed to do.

And if it fall out that the Iriſh generally riſe, which we have cauſe to ſuſpect, then we muſt of neceſſity put arms into the hands of the Engliſh pale in preſent, and to others as faſt as we can, to fight for defence of the ſtate and themſelves.

Your lordſhip now ſees the condition wherein we ſtand, and how neceſſary it is, firſt, that we enjoy your preſence ſpeedily for the better guiding of thoſe and other the publick affairs of the king and kingdom. And ſecondly, that the parliament there, be moved

moved immediately to advance to us a good ſum of money, which being now ſpeedily ſent hither, may prevent the expence of very much treaſure and blood in a long continued war. And if your lordſhip ſhall happen to ſtay on that ſide any longer time; we muſt then deſire your lordſhip to appoint a lieutenant general to diſcharge the great and weighty burthen of commanding the forces here. 1641.

Amidſt theſe confuſions and diſcords fallen upon us, we bethought us of the parliament, which was formerly adjourned to November next, and the term now alſo at hand, which will draw ſuch a concourſe of people hither, and give opportunity under that pretence of aſſembling and taking new councils, ſeeing the former ſeems to be in ſome part diſappointed, and of contriving further danger to this ſtate and people: we have therefore found it of unavoidable neceſſity to prorogue it accordingly, and to direct the term to be adjourned to the firſt of hillary term, excepting only the court of exchequer for haſtening in the king's money if it be poſſible. We deſire upon this occaſion your lordſhip will be pleaſed to view our letters concerning the plantation of Conaught, dated the twenty fourth of April laſt, directed to Mr. ſecretary Vane in that part thereof, which concerns the county of Monaghan, where now theſe fires do firſt break out.

In the laſt place we muſt make known to your lordſhip, that the army we have, conſiſting but of 2000 foot and 1000 horſe, are ſo diſperſed in garriſons in ſeveral parts, as continually they have been ſince they were ſo reduced, as if they be all ſent for to be drawn

1641. together, not only the places whence they are to be drawn (and for whoſe ſafety they lie there) muſt be by abſence diſtreſſed; but alſo the companies themſelves coming in ſo ſmall numbers may be in danger to be cut off in their march; nor indeed have we any money to pay the ſoldiers to enable them to march. And ſo we take leave and remain, from his majeſty's caſtle of Dublin, 25th of October, 1641.

Your lordſhip's to be commanded,

William Parſons. John Borlace.

Richard Bolton, Can. R. Dillon, Anthony Midenſis, John Raphoe, R. Digby, Ad. Loftus, Ger. Lowther, John Temple, Tho. Rotheram, Fran. Willoughby, J. Ware, G. Wentworth, Robert Meredith.

POSTSCRIPT.

The ſaid Owen Conally, who revealed the conſpiracy is worthy of very great conſideration, to recompence that faith and loyalty which he hath ſo extreamly, to his own danger, expreſſed in this buſineſs; whereby, under God, there is yet hope left us of deliverance of this ſtate and kingdom, from the wicked purpoſes of thoſe conſpirators. And therefore we beſeech your lordſhip that it be taken into conſideration there, ſo as he may have a mark of his majeſty's moſt royal bounty, which may largely extend to him and his poſterity,

poſterity, we not being now able here to do it for him. 1641.

W. Parſons.

To the right honourable our very good lord, Robert, earl of Leiceſter, lord lieutenant general, and general governour of the kingdom of Ireland.

The diſpatch ſent to his Majeſty was addreſſed to ſir Henry Vane, principal ſecretary, and carried by ſir Henry Spotſwood, who went by ſea directly into Scotland: and the letters to the lord lieutenant were ſent to London by Owen O Conally, the firſt diſcoverer of the plot.

The lords juſtices cauſe the proclamations to be diſperſed, letters to be written, and other means to be uſed for the prevention of the riſing of the Iriſh in the north, but all to no purpoſe.

The lords now with all care and diligence, applied their further endeavours towards the preventing as much as was poſſible, the deſtruction intended againſt all the Britiſh inhabitants of the kingdom, as well as the ſecurity of the city, and the places round about it. A work of large extent, and wherein they met with many difficulties, by reaſon of their own wants both of men and money. They having formerly ſent away and diſperſed the proclamations into ſeveral parts of the country, now ſent letters by expreſs meſſengers unto the preſidents of Munſter and Conaught, and to ſeveral principal gentlemen in theſe two provinces; as alſo to others within the province of Leinſter, giving them notice of the diſcovery of the plot, and adviſing them to ſtand upon their guard, and to make the beſt proviſion they could for the defence of the country about them. They ſent another expreſs to the Earl of Ormond, then at his houſe

1641. at Carrick, with letters to the ſame effect; and withal, deſired his lordſhip preſently to repair unto them at Dublin with his troop of horſe. They ſent likewiſe commiſſions to the lords viſcounts of Clandeboys and of the Ardes, for raiſing of the Scots in the northern parts, and putting them into arms, as they did alſo ſoon after to ſir William Stewart, and ſir Robert Stewart, and ſeveral other gentlemen of quality in the north. And as they gave them order for proſecution of the rebels with fire and ſword, ſo they gave them power to receive ſuch of them in, as ſhould ſubmit to his majeſty's grace and mercy. But theſe diſpatches they were enforced to ſend all by ſea, the rebels having ſtopped up the paſſages, and hindred all manner of entercourſe with that province by land.

The lords of the engliſh pale repair to the council-board, and there declare their loyal affections to his majeſty.

The lords of the * pale having been at the council-board, and there declared to the lords juſtices, with great proteſtations, their loyal affections unto his majeſty, together with their readineſs and forward concurrence with their lordſhips in this ſervice, came unto them again within two or three days after with a petition; wherein they offered unto their lordſhips the deep ſenſe they had of an expreſſion in the late proclamation, ſet out upon the diſcovery of this great conſpiracy intended, as is there ſet down, *by ſome evil affected Iriſh papiſts*; which words they feared might be by ſome miſinterpreted, and ſuch a conſtruction put upon

* The Engliſh pale is a large circuit of land poſſeſſed at the time of the firſt conqueſt of Ireland by the Engliſh, and ever ſince inhabited by them; it contains ſeveral counties, viz. the counties of Dublin, Meath, Lowth, Kildare, &c.

upon them, as might reflect upon their perſons, as comprehended under them. Whereupon the lords juſtices and council thought fit, to deſcend ſo far to their ſatisfaction, as not only to remonſtrate the clearneſs of their intentions towards them, but that it might appear unto the world, they entertained not the leaſt jealous thoughts of them, they cauſed a new proclamation to be ſet out by way of explanation of the former, which I have thought fit here to inſert, that it may appear how far they were from giving any of thoſe lords and gentlemen occaſion to break out into thoſe rebellious courſes, they ſoon afterwards took to their own deſtruction. 1641.

By the lords juſtices and council.

W. Parſons. John Borlace.

A proclamation iſſued for the ſatisfaction of the lords and gentlemen of the Engliſh pale.

WHEREAS a petition hath been preferred unto us by divers lords and gentlemen of the Engliſh pale, in behalf of themſelves and the reſt of the pale, and other the old Engliſh of this kingdom, ſhewing that whereas a late conſpiracy of treaſon is diſcovered of ill affected perſons of the old Iriſh, and that thereupon a proclamation was publiſhed by us; wherein, among other things, it is declared that the ſaid conſpiracy was perpetrated by Iriſh papiſts without diſtinction of any; and they doubting that by thoſe general words of *Iriſh Papiſts*, they might ſeem to be involved, though they declare themſelves confident that we did not intend to conclude them therein, in regard they are none of the old Iriſh, nor of their faction, or confederacy; but are altogether averſe and oppoſite

1641. ſite to all their deſigns, and all others of like condition; we do therefore to give them full ſatisfaction, hereby declare and publiſh to all his majeſty's good ſubjects in this kingdom, that by the words, Iriſh papiſts, we intended only ſuch of the old meer Iriſh in the province of Ulſter, as have plotted, contrived, and been actors in this treaſon, and others who adhere to them; and that we did not any way intend, or mean thereby any of the old Engliſh of the pale, nor of any other parts of this kingdom, we being well aſſured of their fidelities to the crown, and having experience of the good affections and ſervices of their anceſtors in former times of danger and rebellion. And we further require all his majeſty's loving ſubjects, whether proteſtants or papiſts to forbear upbraiding matter of religion, one againſt the other, and that upon pain of his majeſty's indignation. Given at his majeſty's caſtle of Dublin, the 29th of October, 1641.

R. Ranelagh, R. Dillon, Ant. Midenſis, Ad. Loftus, Geo. Shurly, Gerrard Lowther, J. Temple, Fr. Willoughby, J. Ware.

God ſave the king.

But to return now to the northern rebels, who ſo cloſely purſued on their firſt plot, as they beginning to put it in execution in moſt of the chief places of ſtrength there, upon the twenty third of October, the day appointed for the ſurpriſal of the caſtle of Dublin, had by the latter end of the ſame month gotten into their poſſeſſion all the towns, forts, caſtles, and gentlemens houſes within the counties of

of Tyrone, Donegal, Fermanagh, Armagh, Cavan, Londonderry, Monaghan, and half the county of Down, excepting the cities of London-derry and Colerain, the town and caſtle of Inniſkilling, and ſome other places and caſtles which were for the preſent gallantly defended by the Britiſh undertakers, though afterwards for want of relief, ſurrendred into their hands. The chief of the northern rebels that firſt appeared in the execution of this plot within the province of Ulſter, where Sir Phelim O Neal, Turlogh O Neal, his brother, Roury Mac-Guire, brother to the lord Mac-Guire, Philip O Rely, Mulmore O Rely, ſir Coone Mac-Gennis, col. Mac-Brian, Mac-Mahan; theſe having cloſely combined together, with ſeveral other of their accomplices, the chief of the ſeveral ſepts in the ſeveral counties, divided their forces into ſeveral parties; and according to a general aſſignation made among themſelves at one and the ſame time, ſurpriſed by treachery the town and Caſtle of the Newry, the fort of Dungannon, fort Montjoy, Charlemont, Tonrages, Carrick-Mac-Roſſe, Cloughcuter, Caſtle Blany, caſtle of Monaghan; being all of them places of conſiderable ſtrength, and in ſeveral of them companies of foot, or troops of horſe belonging to the ſtanding army. Beſides theſe, they took a multitude of other caſtles, houſes of ſtrength, towns and villages, all abundantly peopled with Britiſh inhabitants, who had exceedingly enriched the country as well as themſelves, by their painful labours. They had made for their more comfortable ſubſiſtance, handſome and pleaſant habitations, abounding with corn, cattle, and all other commodities that an induſtrious people could draw out of

1641.

The greater part of Ulſter poſſeſſed by the northern rebels.

The names of the chief rebels in Ulſter

Several forts and other places ſuddenly ſurprized by the rebels.

1641. of a good inland ſoil. They lived in great plenty, and ſome of them very well ſtored with plate and ready money. They lived likewiſe in as great ſecurity, being quiet and careleſs, as the people of Laiſh, little ſuſpecting any treachery from their Iriſh neighbours. The Engliſh well knew they had given them no manner of provocation; they had entertained them with great demonſtrations of love and affection. No ſtory can ever ſhew that in any age ſince their intermixed cohabitation, they roſe up ſo ſecretly to do them miſchef. And now of late they lived ſo peaceably and lovingly together as they had juſt reaſon moſt confidently to believe, that the Iriſh would never upon any occaſion generally riſe up again to their deſtruction. This I take to be one main and principal reaſon that the Engliſh were ſo eaſily over-run within the northren counties, and ſo ſuddenly ſwallowed up, before they could make any manner of reſiſtance in the very firſt beginnings of this rebellion. For moſt of the Engliſh having either Iriſh tenants, ſervants, or landlords, and all of them Iriſh neighbours their familiar friends: as ſoon as the fire brake out, and the whole country began to riſe about them, ſome made their recourse preſently to their friends for protection, ſome relying upon their neighbours, others upon their landlords, others upon their tenants and ſervants for preſervation, or at leaſt, preſent ſafety; and with great confidence put their lives, their wives, their children, and all they had into their power. But theſe generally either betrayed them into the hands of other rebels, or moſt perfidiouſly deſtroyed them with their own hands. The prieſts had now charmed the Iriſh, and laid ſuch

The great ſecurity and confidence of the Engliſh in the Iriſh, a great cauſe of their ſudden deſtruction.

The Engliſh betrayed and murdered by their Iriſh friends, ſervants and tenants

ſuch bloody impreſſions in them, as it was held, according to the maxims they had received, a mortal ſin to give any manner of relief or protection to any of the Engliſh. All bonds and ties of faith and friendſhip were now broken; the Iriſh landlords made a prey of their Engliſh tenants; Iriſh tenants and ſervants a ſacrifice of their Engliſh landlords and maſters; one neighbour cruelly murdered by another; the very Iriſh children in the very beginning fell to ſtrip and kill Engliſh children: all other relations were quite cancelled and laid aſide, and it was now eſteemed a moſt meretorious work in any of them that could by any means or ways whatſoever, bring an Engliſh man to the ſlaughter. A work not very difficult to be compaſſed as things then ſtood. For they living promiſcuouſly among the Britiſh, in all parts having from their prieſts received the watch-word both for time and place, roſe up, as it were actuated by one and the ſame ſpirit, in all places of thoſe counties before-mentioned at one and the ſame point of time; and ſo in a moment fell upon them, murdering ſome, ſtripping only or expelling others out of their habitations. This bred ſuch a general terrour and aſtoniſhment among the Engliſh, as they knew not what to think, much leſs what to do, or which way to turn themſelves. Their ſervants were killed as they were ploughing in the fields, huſbands cut to pieces in the preſence of their wives; their children's brains daſhed out before their faces; others had all their goods and cattel ſeized and carried away; their houſes burnt; their habitations laid waſte, and all as it were at an inſtant before they could ſuſpect the Iriſh for their enemies,

1641.

The intermixture of the Engliſh among the Iriſh a main cauſe of their ſudden deſtruction.

1641. mies, or any ways imagine that they had it in their hearts, or in their power, to offer ſo great violence, or do ſuch miſchief unto them.

Now for ſuch of the Engliſh as ſtood upon their guard, and had gathered together, though but in ſmall numbers, the Iriſh had recourſe to their antient ſtratagem, which as they have formerly, ſo they ſtill continued to make frequent uſe of in this preſent rebellion. And that was fairly to offer unto them good conditions of quarter; to aſſure them their lives, their goods, and free paſſage with a ſafe conduct into what place ſoever they pleaſed, and to confirm theſe covenants ſometimes under their hands and ſeals, ſometimes with deep oaths and proteſtations; and then as ſoon as they had them in their power, to hold themſelves diſ-obliged from their promiſes, and to leave their ſoldiers at liberty to deſpoil, ſtrip, and murder them at their pleaſure. Thus were the poor Engliſh treated, who had ſhut themſelves up in the great cathedral church at Armagh, by ſir Phelim O Neal, and his brother Turlogh. Thus were ſuch of the Engliſh uſed by Phillip O Rely, who had retired themſelves to Belterbet, the beſt planted town in the county of Cavan. And after the ſame barbarous manner were ſuch of the Engliſh drawn out to the ſlaughter, as had gotten into the caſtle of Longford, the caſtle of Tullogh in the county of Fermanagh, or the church of Newtown in the ſame county, and ſeveral other places; as appears by ſeveral examinations taken upon oath, from perſons that hardly eſcaped thence with their lives. And beſides theſe other polices they uſed, ſome to diſtract and diſcourage them,

The Iriſh falſify their oaths and proteſtations to the Engliſh, and after quarter given them in ſeveral places, murder and deſtroy them.

1641.

them, others to diſinable them to ſtand out to make any defence. As in ſeveral places the Iriſh came under divers pretences, and borrowed ſuch weapons and arms as the Engliſh had in their houſes; and no ſooner got them into their hands, but they turned them out of their own doors, as they did at Glaſlough in the county of Monaghan: and by the ſame means they very gently and fairly got into their poſſeſſion all the Engliſh arms in the county of Cavan: the high-ſheriff there being an Iriſh man and a papiſt, pretending that he took their arms to ſecure them only againſt the violence of ſuch of the Iriſh as he underſtood to be in arms in the next county. And that they might the more eaſily effect the deſtruction of the Engliſh, and keep off the Scots from giving them any aſſiſtance; they openly profeſſed to ſpare, as really they did at the firſt, all of the Scotiſh nation; and pretended they would ſuffer them, as likewiſe all Engliſh papiſts, to live quietly among them; hoping thereby to contain all of that nation from taking up arms, till they had maſtered all the Engliſh, and that then they ſhould be well enough enabled to deal with them. Thus were the poor Engliſh prepared for the ſlaughter, and ſo exceedingly diſtracted with the tumultous riſing of the Iriſh on all ſides about them, as they could never put themſelves into any poſture of defence. And although in many places they made ſmall parties, and betook themſelves into ſeveral churches and caſtles, ſome of which were moſt gallantly long defended by them, yet did they not draw together in any ſuch conſiderable body, as would enable them to make good their party in the field, againſt the

Several policies uſed by the Iriſh to prevent the Engliſh from riſing againſt them or the Scots to join in their defence.

1641. The Engliſh ſtand upon the defence of their private houſes without joining together in one body, whereby they give great advantage to the rebels.

the numerous forces of the rebels. The truth is, they did not very readily endeavour, or dexterouſly attempt it in any part of that province, as I could hear of; every man betaking himſelf the beſt he could to the care of his own houſe, and ſeeking how to ſave his own family, his goods within, and his cattle without. And ſo while they kept ſingly apart, and ſingly ſtood up for their own private preſervation, not joining their forces together for the common ſafety, they gave the rebels a fair opportunity, and a ſingular advantage, to work out with great facility their common deſtruction. Whereas if they had deſerted their houſes upon the firſt notice of the riſing up of the Iriſh, and in the ſeveral counties put themſelves into ſeveral bodies, under the commands of the chief Engliſh gentlemen round about them, they had undoubtedly (how ill ſoever they were provided of arms and munition) been able to have encountered the Iriſh, and to have beat them out of many parts of the country, or at leaſt, to have put them to ſome ſtand in their enterpriſe. Whereas, by the courſe they took, they moſt readily, without almoſt any reſiſtance, expoſed themſelves to the mercileſs cruelty of the Iriſh, who at the very firſt (for ſome few days after their breaking out) did not in moſt places murder many of them: but the courſe they took, was to ſeize upon all their goods and cattle, to ſtrip them, their wives and children naked; and in that miſerable plight, the weather being moſt bitter cold and froſty, to turn them out of their houſes, to drive them to the mountains, to wander through the woods and bogs; and if they by any means procured any other cloaths, or but even ordinary rags to cover

cover their nakedneſs, they were preſently taken from them again, and none ſuffered to give them any kind of ſhelter by the way, relief, or entertainment, without incurring the heavy diſpleaſure of their prieſts and chief commanders. And ſo they drove ſuch of the Engliſh, whoſe lives they thought fit at that time to ſpare, clear out of the country. Some of them took their journey towards Carickfergus, others towards Colerain, Derry, and other of the northern ports. Many who had gotten together and ſtood upon their guard, came to compoſition with their bloody aſſailants, and gave them their goods, plate and money, for leave to come up to the city of Dublin. And having bought their licence at ſo dear a rate, had paſſes and convoys aſſigned them by the chief captains of the rebels, and ſo came on their way in great troops of men, women and children. Out of the country of Cavan, as Mr. Creighton (who by his charitable relief of great numbers of them, preſerved them from periſhing) teſtifies in his examination, there paſſed by his houſe in one company, one thouſand four hundred perſons, in another five hundred, from Newtown in the county of Fermanagh, in others leſſer numbers; all without any weapons, or any thing elſe but the very cloaths on their backs, which they ſuffered them not to carry away with them; but many were moſt barbarouſly ſtripped of them, by thoſe who undertook to give them ſafe conduct, or perfidiouſly betrayed by them into the hands of other rebels, by whom ſome were killed, others wounded, and all in a manner, whatſoever they had to cover their nakedneſs, taken from moſt of them; as may appear by the examination of 1641.

1641. Adam Clover's examination.

Adam Clover of Slonoſy in the county of Cavan, who being duly ſworn, depoſeth, *inter alia*, that this deponent and his company that were robbed, obſerved, that thirty perſons or thereabouts, were then moſt barbarouſly murdered and ſlain outright, and about one hundred and fifty more perſons cruelly wounded; ſo that traces of blood iſſuing from their wounds, lay upon the high-way for twelve miles together, and many very young children, were left and periſhed by the way, to the number of ſixty or thereabouts; becauſe the cruel purſuit of the rebels was ſuch, that their parents and friends could not carry them further. And further ſaith, that ſome of the rebels vowed, that if any digged graves wherein to bury the dead childen, they ſhould be buried therein themſelves: ſo the poor people left the moſt of them unburied, expoſed to ravenous beaſts and fowls, and ſome few their parents carried a great way to bury them. And this deponent further ſaith, that he ſaw upon the way a woman, left by the rebels, ſtripped to her ſmock, ſet upon by three women and ſome Iriſh children, who miſerably rent and tore the ſaid poor Engliſh-woman, and ſtripped her of her ſmock in a bitter froſt and ſnow, ſo that ſhe fell in labour under their hands, and both ſhe and her child died there. Thus did their mercy in ſparing thoſe miſerable ſouls in this manner prove by much a far greater cruelty, than if they had ſuddenly cut them off, as they did afterwards many thouſand of Britiſh that fell into their hands. For now they ſtarved and periſhed in multitudes upon the ways as they travelled along; and to thoſe that out-lived the miſery of their journey, their limbs only ſerved to drag up their

their bodies to chriſtian burial, there denied unto them. For many of the men, and moſt of the women and children that thus eſcaped, either to Dublin, or other places of ſafety in the north, not long out-lived the bitterneſs of their paſſage; but either overwhelmed with grief, or outwearied with travel, contracted thoſe diſeaſes, which furthered by hunger, cold, nakedneſs, ill-lodgings, and want of other neceſſaries, ſtruck deeply into bodies that had lived long at eaſe with much plenty, and ſoon brought them with ſorrow to their graves. 1641.

Theſe were the firſt fruits of this rebellion, which now began to dilate itſelf into the other provinces, having covered over the northern parts of the kingdom with fearful diſolations. The firſt plotters were yet undiſcovered, but the great active inſtruments appointed for the execution of this horrid deſign fully appeared, and had already deeply imbrued their hands in the bloody maſſacres of the Engliſh. Sir Phelim O Neal being the chief of that ſept, and now the perſon remaining of neareſt alliance to the late earl of Tyron, aſſumed to himſelf the chief power among the rebels in Ulſter; and by his directions guided the reſt of his complices on, in the deſtruction of all the Engliſh there. He was one of very mean parts without courage or conduct; his education for a great part of his youth was in England; he was admitted a ſtudent of Lincolns-Inn, and there trained up in the proteſtant religion, which he ſoon changed after, if not before his return into Ireland, lived looſly, and having no conſiderable eſtate, by reaſon of the great engagement upon it, became of very little eſteem in all

Sir Phelim O Neal's proceedings.

1641. opinions. Yet ſuch were the over zealous affections of his country-men in this cauſe, their ſecrecy in attempting, their ſuddenneſs in executing, as by their forwardneſs to deſtroy the Engliſh and get their goods, he quickly overrun that part of the country. He had prevailed ſo far within ſeven days after he firſt appeared in this rebellion, by ſeizing moſt treacherouſly at the very firſt upon Charlemont, where the lord Cauſield lay with his foot-company, the forts of Dunganon and Montjoy, as that in his letter written to father Patrick O Donnell his confeſſor, bearing date from Montjoy, the 30th of October, he was able to brag of great and many victories. And preſently after he had gotten ſuch a multitude of rude fellows together, though in very ill equipage, as he marched down with great numbers of men towards Liſnagarvy, near the chief plantation of the Scots; (for that part of their plot to ſpare them, as they did in the begining, they found now too groſs to take, therefore they reſolved to fall upon them without mercy) and yet left ſufficient forces to come up into the pale, to take in Dundalke in the county of Lowth, which was a frontier town in the laſt wars againſt Tyron, and ſo well defended itſelf, as with all the power he had, he could never recover it into his hands; there lay now a foot-company of the old army, but the lieutenant who commanded it, having neither his men in readineſs, nor arms or munition, made little or no reſiſtance, eaſily giving way to the forward affections of the inhabitants, who delivered up the town into the poſſeſſion of the rebels about the begining of November, 1641.

Dondalke taken by the rebels about the begining of November 1641.

The

1641.

The rebels preſently after their taking in of Dondalke, marched on further into the county of Lowth, and poſſeſſed themſelves of Ardee, a little town within ſeven miles of Tredagh, anciently called Drohedagh. So as it was now high time to provide for the ſafety of that town, the lord Moore had already retired thither from his houſe at Millifont, and there remained with his troop of horſe and two companies of foot. One was under the command of ſir John Nettervile, eldeſt ſon to the lord viſcount Nettervile. He diſcovered in the very begining much virulency in his affections, by giving falſe frights and raiſing falſe rumours, and making all manner of ill infuſions into the minds of the townſmen, who as it afterwards appeared, were but too forward to take part with the rebels. It is verily believed they had in the very begining ſome plot to cut off the lord Moore and ſeize upon his troop; and that ſir John Nettervile's part was to begin a mutiny, which he attempted that night he was to be upon the watch, by giving ill language, and endeavouring to make a quarrel with his lordſhip, which he very diſcreetly paſſed over, and ſo carefully looked to the guard of the town, as they could take no advantage to put on their deſign. Howſoever the townſmen were extremely frighted with the thoughts of their preſent danger, and the greater part of them being papiſts, were ready to declare themſelves for the catholic cauſe; only their deſires were, things might be ſo ordered, as would adminiſter unto them ſpecious pretences of neceſſity for the ſame. The lord Moore gave preſent advertiſement unto the lords juſtices and council, of the ill

The rebels march up towards Tredagh.

1641. condition and moſt imminent danger he found the town to be then in, that it was not poſſible to preſerve it out of the hands of the rebels without further ſtrength both of horſe and foot. That in caſe the enemy ſhould make any ſudden approaches, or attempt to ſurprize the town, he found ſuch poor preparitives for defence within, ſuch apparent ſigns of diſloyalty in the townſmen, and all things in ſuch a deſperate confuſion, as they ſhould not be able by the beſt endeavours they could uſe to give any good account of that place. Hereupon their lordſhips preſently reſolved, to levy in the city of Dublin a regiment of foot, and to place them under the command of ſir Henry Tichborn for the defence of Tredagh. And for this purpoſe there was very opportunely in the hands of the vice-treaſurer 3000l. in a readineſs to be at that time ſent over into England, for the ſatisfaction of a publick engagement there. This the lords thought fit to make uſe of, for the levying and ſetting out of thoſe men which ſir Henry Tichborn got together in very few days, and having a commiſſion of government for the town, with ſome other private inſtructions, he marched away with great alacrity and dilligence the 3d of November, and happily arrived next day at Tredagh.

The ill condition of Tredagh repreſented by the L. Moore to the lords juſtices.

A regiment raiſed by the lords juſtices at Dublin, and ſent down under the command of ſir Hen. Tichborn, for the defence of Tredagh, Novem. 3

The lords granted another commiſſion to ſir Charles Coote to levy a thouſand men more, which he moſt carefully endeavoured, and within a very ſhort time made up his regiment, wherein very many of the Engliſh, who came up ſtripped and deſpoiled out of the North liſted themſelves; for moſt of the men which eſcaped from thence with their lives, being

A regiment raiſed by ſir C. Coote.

being better able to ſuffer than the women and children, out-lived the miſeries of their journey, and putting themſelves into ſeveral companies, ſome of them had the contentment to revenge the barbarous cruelty uſed by the rebels towards them. 1641.

Upon the fifth of November, the lords made their ſecond diſpatch unto his Majeſty, ſtill at Edenburgh in Scotland: at the ſame time they ſent ſeveral letters into England, to the lord keeper, ſpeaker of the houſe of peers, to the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, to the lords of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council, and to the lord lieutenant of Ireland; in all which they did with much earneſtneſs declare their preſent dangers, together with the neceſſity of ſending ſudden relief. In their letter to the lords of the council they did more particularly ſet down the miſerable eſtate of the whole kingdom, and the large progreſs that the rebellion had in few days made ſince it broke out. They repreſented unto their lordſhips the great outrages the rebels had committed upon the Britiſh inhabitants in Ulſter, that they had ſeized upon all their eſtates and houſes in five counties of that province, poſſeſſed their arms, detained many of the principal gentlemen priſoners; that they had already ſlain many, moſt barbarouſly hewed ſome to pieces, that they have expoſed thouſands to want and beggary, who had good eſtates and lived plentifully: that the rebellion began then to diffuſe itſelf into the counties of Longford and Letrim, and to threaten the Engliſh plantations in the kings and queens counties: that the inhabitants of the counties of Meath and Lowth began to fall upon the Engliſh near about them: that

The ſecond diſpatch made by the lords juſtices and council into England, Novem. 5.

1641. they conceived there could not be leſs then 30000 who had already openly declared themſelves in this rebellion, and were aſſembled together in ſeveral great parties; that they underſtood their deſign was, having got Dundalke, to take in Tredagh, and ſome to come up immediately to beſiege the city and caſtle of Dublin: That they gave out publickly, their purpoſe was to extirpate the Engliſh and Proteſtants, and not to lay down arms until the Romiſh religion were eſtabliſhed, the government ſettled in the hands of the natives, and the old Iriſh reſtored to the lands of their ſuppoſed anceſtors. That they held it their duty to acquaint their lordſhips with the lamentable eſtate wherein the kingdom ſtood, that his majeſty and the parliament might underſtand it, and ſo ſpeedily provide for ſending over to their relief 10000 foot, 1000 horſe, together with ſome able commanders, 100000 l. in money, and further proviſions of arms: that unleſs theſe were preſently ſent to them (they craved leave to repeat it again and again) the kingdom would be utterly loſt, all the Engliſh and Proteſtants in Ireland deſtroyed, the peace of the kingdom of England diſturbed by the Iriſh from thence, and ſo England enforced to make a new conqueſt of it, for that a politick reformation would then be impoſſible.

The proceedings of the parliament of England upon the firſt adverti-ſements brought unto them of the rebellion raiſed in Ireland.

But now before I paſs further, I ſhall here give an accompt of the arrival of theſe and the former letters of the 25th of October, addreſſed by the lords juſtices and council to the lord lieutenant of Ireland. Owen O Conally, the happy diſcoverer of the firſt plot (who carried the firſt letters over) arrived at London the laſt day of October, and late in the even-

ing

ing delivered thoſe letters to his lordſhip, who having read them over, and received from him full information of all other particulars within his knowledge, repaired the next morning to the council-board, and having there acquainted the lords of his majeſty's privy-council with them, he was requir'd by their lordſhips to communicate them unto the lords of the upper houſe of parliament, which he did accordingly the very ſame morning: and they conſidering the high importance of them, as ſoon as they had peruſed them, ordered that they ſhould be preſently ſent down to the houſe of commons, by the lord keeper, the lord privy-ſeal, lord high-chamberlain, lord admiral, lord marſhal, lord chamberlain, earl of Bath, earl of Dorſet, earl of Leiceſter, earl of Holland, earl of Berks, earl of Briſtol, lord viſcount Say, earl of Mandevile, lord Goring, lord Wilmot, all of them being of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council. There were chairs provided for theſe lords in the houſe of commons, and they ſat down there till the letters were read, and then having informed the houſe of ſuch other particulars as they had received concerning the general rebellion in Ireland, they departed without any further conference or other debate upon them, leaving the houſe of commons to conſider further of them: who preſently ordered, 1641.

That the houſe forthwith ſhould be reſolved into a committee, to take into conſideration the matter offered concerning the rebellion in Ireland, as likewiſe to provide for the ſafety of the kingdom of England.

This being done, they fell into a moſt ſerious debate of this great buſineſs then before them, they fully conſidered what means were fitteſt

1641. fitteſt to be uſed at preſent for the prevention of the further ſpreading of that hideous rebellion in Ireland, as well as ſtopping of the ill influence it might make upon their affairs in England, where great troubles even then began to appear within view. And after much time ſpent in this debate, they came to theſe ſeveral concluſions, which being put to the queſtion, were aſſented unto by the committee, and ſo reſolved as followeth.

1. That 50000 l. be forthwith provided.

2. That a conference be deſired with the lords, to move them that a ſelect committee of the members of both houſes may be appointed to go to the city of London, and to make a declaration unto them of the ſtate of the buſineſs in Ireland, and to acquaint them that the lending of monies at this time will be an acceptable ſervice to the commonwealth. And that they propoſe unto them the loan of 50000 l. and to aſſure them that they ſhall be ſecured both of the principal and intereſt, by act of parliament.

3. That a ſelect committee may be named by both houſes to conſider of the affairs of Ireland.

4. That Owen O Conally, who diſcovered this great treaſon, ſhall have 500 l. preſently paid him, and 200 l. per annum penſion, until proviſion of land of inheritance of a greater value be made for him.

5. That the perſons of papiſts of quality within this kingdom, may be ſecured within the ſeveral counties where they reſide.

6. That no perſon whatſoever, except thoſe who are merchants, ſhall be admitted to go over into Ireland, without certificates from the

the committee of both houſes appointed to 1641.
conſider the affairs of Ireland.

Theſe with ſeveral other particulars concerning Ireland, and tending in order to the ſafety of the kingdom of England, were reſolved upon the queſtion, and Mr. Whitlock appointed to report them to the houſe as heads of a conference deſired with the lords concerning the affairs of Ireland, which was accordingly had with their lordſhips the ſame day; at which conference the lord keeper did expreſs the very great ſenſe the lords had of the exceeding great care taken by the houſe of commons for the prevention of the further ſpreading of the rebellion in Ireland. And his lordſhip by command of the lords did further let them know, that their lordſhips did think fit to agree with them in all thoſe particulars preſented unto them by the houſe of commons without any material alteration, only adding ſuch further things as they conceived might ſerve to further and expedite their deſires in the more ſpeedy putting them in execution.

The houſe of commons having proceeded thus far in the affairs of Ireland, upon the two firſt days after the diſcovery made unto them, of the rebellion there raiſed, did notwithſtanding their own preſent diſtractions, ſet a-part ſome portion almoſt of every day that they ſate, during the whole month of November, for the conſidering of the affairs of Ireland; and ſo upon the third and fourth of the ſame, reſolved upon the queſtion, and accordingly ordered theſe particulars following:

1. That

1641. 1. That the houſe holds fit that 20,000 l. be forthwith ſupplied for the preſent occaſions of Ireland.

2. That a convenient number of ſhips ſhall be provided for the guarding of the ſea-coaſts of Ireland.

3. That this houſe holds fit that 6000 foot and 2000 horſe ſhall be raiſed with all convenient ſpeed, for the preſent expedition into Ireland.

4. That the lord lieutenant ſhall preſent to both houſes of parliament, ſuch officers as he ſhall think fit to ſend into Ireland, to command any forces to be tranſported thither.

5. That magazines of victuals ſhall be forthwith provided at Weſt-Cheſter to be ſent over to Dublin, as the occaſions of that kingdom ſhall require.

6. That the magazines of arms, ammunition, and powder, now in Carliſle, ſhall be forthwith ſent over to Knockfergus in Ireland.

7. That it be referred to the king's council, to conſider of ſome fit way, and to preſent it to the houſe, for a publication to be made of rewards to be given to ſuch as ſhall do ſervice in this expedition into Ireland; and for a pardon of ſuch of the rebels in Ireland as ſhall come in by a time limitted, and of a ſum of money to be appointed for a reward to ſuch as ſhall bring in the heads of ſuch principal rebels as ſhall be nominated.

8. That letters ſhall be forthwith ſent to the juſtices in Ireland, to acquaint them how ſenſible this houſe is of the affairs of Ireland.

9. That the committee of Iriſh affairs ſhall conſider how, and in what manner this kingdom ſhall make uſe of the friendſhip and aſſiſtance

assistance of Scotland in the business of Ireland. 1641.

10. That directions shall be given for the drawing of a bill for the pressing of men for this particular service for Ireland.

These particulars, together with several others, being resolved upon the question, they passed an ordinance of parliament, enabling the earl of Leicester, lord lieutenant of Ireland, to raise 3500 foot and 600 horse, for the present service there. And they further expressed their resolution, not to make use of the assistance offered unto them by their brethren of Scotland further for the present, than for the furnishing them with 1000 foot, which they desired might be transported out of Scotland into the north of Ireland. And on the same day they ordered, that the master of his majesty's ordnance should deliver to the lord lieutenant of Ireland the number of 1000 arms for horse, and 8000 arms for foot, and ten lasts of powder, to be presently sent into Ireland. And that the lord admiral should suddenly provide shipping for the transporting of men, arms, and ammunition, and other provisions according to the former resolutions of the house.

Now while both houses of parliament were taking order for raising men, money, and sending provisions and other necessaries for Ireland, there arrived those other letters of the 5th of November, formerly mentioned, which being addressed to the lords of his majesty's privy council, were communicated to both houses of parliament; who, after a conference upon them, took further resolutions for the speedy sending away supplies into Ireland. And such were the forward affections and

1641. and zeal of the houſe of commons, to promote what concerned the ſervice of Ireland, as they thereupon voted 200000l. to be raiſed for the ſuppreſſing the Iriſh rebellion, and for ſecuring of the kingdom of England, and payment of the publick debts.

And that they might facilitate this great work of raiſing ſuch a ſum of money, upon credit of an act of parliament, before the money could be collected throughout the kingdom; they thought fit, for the better encouragement of the city of London, and for the giving them full ſatisfaction in point of ſecurity for the monies ſo formerly lent them, to make this order following.

The lords and commons in this preſent parliament aſſembled, having a due regard to the good affections of the city of London, expreſſed upon ſundry occaſions by the advancing and lending of great ſums of money, for the ſervice of this common-wealth, and particularly the ſum of 50000l. lent for the Iriſh affairs; and the ſum of 50000l. more lent by the ſaid city unto the peers attending his majeſty in the northern parts, before the beginning of this preſent parliament, which are not yet paid, or otherwiſe ſecured, ſhall be fully ſatisfied and repaid unto the ſaid city of London, with intereſt of 8l. per ct. for one year, out of ſuch monies as are or ſhall be raiſed by authority of parliament. And for that purpoſe an act of parliament to be paſſed with all expedition. Provided always that this preſent ordinance ſhall not in any ways be prejudicial to any members of the ſaid houſe of Commons, who have formerly lent any ſums of money to this parliament; nor to the northern counties, nor to any perſons whatſoever,

whatſoever, to whom both houſes of parliament, or the ſaid houſe of commons have formerly ordered the payment of any ſums of money, nor to any ſecurity given to them, before the making of this ordinance. 1641.

But I ſhall now return to the affairs of this kingdom, and the ſerious conſultations and means uſed here by the juſtices and council for the ſecuring of the city and caſtle of Dublin, which by reaſon of the preſent confuſion, weakneſs, and wants, were in very great, and moſt apparent danger of a ſudden ſurpriſe.

And firſt for the caſtle, ſir Francis Willoughby being made governor, had a company of an hundred men well armed, aſſigned for the conſtant guard of that place, beſides the ordinary warders, who gave their uſual attendance there. And becauſe the lords conceived it might be dangerous in ſuch deſperate times to admit ſuch a multitude of ſuitors of all ſorts into the caſtle, as had daily occaſion to attend the council-board, they preſently transferred the place of their meeting in council to Cork-houſe, where they continued to ſit a good time after, notwithſtanding the great danger their perſons were continually expoſed unto, by the confident reſort in great numbers of ſeveral lords, gentlemen and others, who within few days after declared themſelves rebels, and ſo went out among them. It was God's immediate providence that preſerved them, and ſuffered not thoſe perſons, who ſoon after became ſuch bloody rebels, to lay hold on that opportunity. For certainly, they might with great eaſe have taken out of the way the lords juſtices and council, and ſo have left all things

in

1641. in ſuch confuſion as would have brought on their long deſired ends without any further conteſtation or trouble.

The next care was to provide victuals for the caſtle in ſuch proportions as might enable it to endure a ſiege, in caſe the town, either through treachery within, or by forces from without, ſhould come to be ſurpriſed by the rebels, who now carried all things ſo clearly before them in the north, as they moſt confidently gave it out, they would ſuddenly come down and make themſelves maſters of it. How to compaſs this, ſeemed a matter of great difficuly, in regard there was no money to be had for the performing this work ſo abſolutely neceſſary in itſelf, and at that time ſo highly importing the ſafety and preſervation, even of the whole kingdom. Therefore the maſter of the rolls, upon whom the lords were pleaſed to impoſe this ſervice of victualling the caſtle, took the advantage of the ſtrange frights, fears, and little ſafety, all the Engliſh and Proteſtants, conceived both themſelves and their goods to remain in at that time. He ſent preſently for ſome of the chief merchants that were proteſtants in the town, and clearly repreſented unto them, the high neceſſities of the ſtate, the great danger of the town, the publick benefit, and their own private ſecurity, in laying into the caſtle ſuch of their proviſions as they had lying by them even in unſafe places of the city. Theſe impreſſions took, and they rightly apprehended the common danger, that they could not out-live the ruins of the caſtle; partly out of their own good affections to the ſervice, partly out of a prudent care to ſecure their goods, were content to bring in great

great quantities of beef, herrings, and corn upon the maſter of the roll's undertaking to ſee them ſatisfied, in caſe uſe were made of them, or otherwiſe certain reſtitution in kind to the ſeveral owners. So as there were preſently laid in by the Engliſh and Dutch merchants, within the verge of the caſtle, above two thouſand barrels of beef, two thouſand barrels of herrings, and a good proportion of wheat; proviſions ſufficient, not only to victual the caſtle for many months, but which did ſerve to maintain the whole army billeted in the city a long time after; and their money they received within few months after, by certificate from hence upon the chamber of London; according to an order made by both houſes of parliament in England, for preſent payment to be made to ſuch as laid in any proviſions for the army in Ireland. There was then further order taken to new dig and clear an old well, long ſince ſtopped up, within the walls of the caſtle; and to provide all other neceſſaries fit for a ſiege. This was the firſt ſtep to the ſafety of this place, and gave great comfort and ſecurity to all the Engliſh and proteſtants. 1641.

The caſtle being thus happily provided for, the lords took it next into their care how to ſecure the city in ſome ſort, againſt any ſudden attempts. And this proved a work not eaſy to be effected, not only in regard of the crazineſs of the walls, the large ſuburbs, and weakneſs of the place; but much more in reſpect of the corrupt ill affections of the popiſh inhabitants within the city: ſo ſtrangely were many of them deluded with the ill infuſions of their prieſts, as they did certainly (as we found afterwards by woful experience) do all

The lords juſtices care to provide for the ſafety of the city of Dublin.

1641. that in them lay, to promote the rebellious deſigns then ſet on foot (as they believed) only for the re-ſettlement of their religion, and recovery of their liberties. They were the inſtruments to convey away privately moſt of the chief conſpirators, who would have ſurpriſed the caſtle on the 23d of October. They ſecretly entertained many of the rebels that came out of the country; they likewiſe ſent them relief that were abroad, by ſecret ways, conveying as well ammunition, as intelligence of all paſſages from hence. And ſuch ſtrong averſions had they againſt all contributions for the maintenance of his majeſty's army, as in the very beginning of the rebellion, when the lords ſent for the mayor and aldermen, and laying before them the high neceſſities of the ſtate, together with the apparent danger of the whole city and kingdom, deſired to borrow a conſiderable ſum of money for the preſent, which they undertook to repay out of the next treaſure that ſhould arrive out of England: the popiſh party among them was ſo prevalent, as that, after a moſt ſerious conſultation and very ſolemn debate among themſelves, they returned this anſwer, That they were not able to furniſh above forty pounds, and part of that was to be brought in in cattle.

Several Iriſh ſoldiers imbarked under pretence of being carried into Spain at the very time of the firſt breaking out of the rebellion.

There remained at this time embarked within the harbour of Dublin, four hundred Iriſh ſoldiers, ready, as was pretended, to ſet ſail for Spain, under the command of colonel John Barry, who, with ſome other Iriſh gentlemen, had procured leave from his majeſty to levy certain numbers of voluntiers to be tranſported over for the ſervice of the king of Spain. And thoſe levied in other parts,

as

as well as at Dublin, were brought together juſt at the very time deſign'd for the execution of the great plot. The Pretence was ſpecious, but certainly their intentions, how finely ſoever cover'd over, were to have thoſe men in a readineſs together, at the very time appointed for the firſt breaking out of theſe unnatural troubles. And as for thoſe men which lay within the harbour of Dublin, they were ſo great a terror to all the proteſtant inhabitants in the city, as it exceedingly perplexed the lords how to diſpoſe of them as might prevent the miſchief juſtly feared, in caſe of their landing. Their commanders had ſo handſomely ordered the matter, as though they were deſigned for a long voyage, yet ſtay on ſhip-board any longer they could not, by reaſon they had no victuals, not even enough to carry them out of the harbour; and no man had order, in the abſence of colonel Barry, who retired himſelf ſome few miles out of the town, the very evening before the caſtle ſhould have been taken, to provide for the further ſupplying of them. To ſuffer them to land, was to add ſo many inſtruments of miſchief to thoſe already gathered within and about the city. Therefore it was reſolved, that the captain of the king's pinnace, then in the harbour, ſhould by force keep them from landing; which he did ſeveral days together, till it was apparent they would inevitably ſtarve, if a courſe were not ſuddenly taken to afford them ſome relief. Whereupon the lords having no means to victual them aboard, gave them leave to land, having firſt taken order they ſhould not come into the city. 1641.

1641.

Several proclamations iſſued out by the lords juſtices and council.

The lords juſtices and council thought fit within very few days after the landing of theſe men, the more to deter them, and all other ill affected perſons from repairing to the city of Dublin, to iſſue out a proclamation for the diſcovery and preſent removal of all ſuch as did or ſhould come and continue there without juſt or neceſſary cauſe. But ſo careful were they in this, and all other their actions, not to give any diſtaſte to the Iriſh or other inhabitants of the country, as they forbore to inflict any puniſhment upon any that continued in the city contrary to their proclamation, ſparing ſeveral perſons whom they had not only juſt cauſe to be jealous of, but who were brought before them, and convinced to have uttered ſpeeches clearly diſcovering their ill affections. And having by late proclamations prorogued the parliament, and adjourned Michaelmas term, that under pretence of repair to either of them, unneceſſary concourſe of ſtrangers might not be brought unto the town, they proceeded on to ſome other acts, which as they conceived would not only render great ſecurity to the city, but leſſen the diſtempers abroad, bring ſafety to the pale, and keep the dangers at diſtance, and far off from them. And for this purpoſe they being informed, that a multitude of the meaner ſort of people were ignorantly involved in the guilt of this rebellion, and by the wicked ſeducement of the firſt conſpirators had been drawn on to deſpoil their Engliſh neighbours, they iſſued out a proclamation about the beginning of the month of November, declaring unto all ſuch as were not freeholders within the counties of Meath, Weſt-Meath, Lowth, and Longford; that if they would come in and

and ſubmit, make reſtitution of the goods ſo taken, they ſhould be received to his majeſty's mercy, and no further proſecution held againſt them. 1641.

Much about the time of the ſending forth of this proclamation, ſome of the chief of the ſept of the Rely's, and other prime gentlemen in the county of Cavan, ſent up a kind of remonſtrance to the lords juſtices and council. Whereunto they returned them a very fair anſwer, aſſuring them of their readineſs to give all juſt redreſs of their grievances expreſſed therein, ſo they would in the mean time retire peaceably to their houſes, reſtore, as they were able, the Engliſh mens goods, and forbear all further acts of rapine and violence. And they did preſently ſend over their remonſtrance to the lord lieutenant, to be preſented to his majeſty, according to their deſires. But theſe ways of moderation and peaceable perſwaſions, proved of very little effect, they had no manner of influence into the reſolved minds of the leaders, or of operation upon the hardened hearts of the people; they were too deeply engaged, ſo ſlightly to retire. They had now drenched themſelves into the blood of the Engliſh, and were greatly enriched with their ſpoils. It was not poſſible for them to make reſtitution, and they hoped to go through with the work, and by the united power of the kingdom to draw the whole management of the affairs into their own hands.

A remonſtrance ſent up to the lords juſtices and council, from the rebels in the county of Cavan.

And now likewiſe the lords juſtices, and council, that they might ſhew the great confidence they had in the lords and chief gentlemen of the pale, and give them both opportunity and means to expreſs their loyalty and

Commiſſions of martial law granted unto ſeveral perſons by the lords juſtices.

1641. and affections to his majeſty's ſervice, reſolved (according as the conſtitution of their affairs then required) to do ſome ſuch acts as might clearly perſuade them of the great truſt they really repoſed in them. And therefore firſt they gave out ſeveral commiſſions of martial law, for executing (without attending a proceeding according to the ordinary courſe of the common law) of ſuch traitors and rebels as ſhould be apprehended doing miſchief in any parts of the country about them. And theſe they directed to the moſt active gentlemen, though all papiſts, inhabiting in the ſeveral counties; as, to Henry Talbot in the county of Dublin, John Bellew, eſq; in the county of Lowth, Richard Dalton and James Tuit, eſqrs; in the county of Weſt-Meath, Valerian Weſley, in the county of Meath, James Talbot in the county of Cavan.

Commiſſions of government of the ſeveral counties within the pale, granted to ſeveral lords and gentlemen, without diſtinction of Religion.

Next they made choice of the chief perſons of quality reſiding in the ſaid counties of the pale, and others adjacent to them, to govern and command ſuch forces as ſhould be raiſed by them, and armed by the ſtate for the defence of the country, and iſſued out from the council-board ſeveral commiſſions of government unto them. As, one to the earl of Ormond and the lord viſcount Montgarret, for the county of Kilkenny; to Walter Bagnall, eſq; for the county of Catherlagh; ſir James Dillon the elder, and ſir James Dillon the younger for the county of Longford; lord viſcount Coſtelo for the county of Mayo; ſir Robert Talbot and Garret Birne, for the county of Wicklow; ſir Chriſtopher Bellew for the county of Lowth; earl of Kildare for the county of Kildare; ſir Thomas Nugent for the county of Weſt-Meath; Nicholas Barnwell for

for the county of Dublin; lord viſcount Gormanſtone for the county of Meath. All theſe were made choice of without diſtinction of religion; the lords holding it fit at that time to put the chief perſons of power in the country into thoſe places of truſt; hoping they might prove good inſtruments to oppoſe the threatening incurſions of the northern rebels, which they knew them well enabled to perform, if they would really join in the ſervice, or at leaſt be kept by this their great confidence in them, from giving any entertainment or aſſiſtance to their rebellious deſigns. 1641.

The commiſſion directed to the lord of Gormanſtone, I have thought fit here to inſert. It was found afterwards in his ſtudy by ſome of his majeſty's army, when he and all the reſt of the governors that were of the Romiſh religion, thus choſen, deſerted their houſes, and openly declared themſelves in actual rebellion. The other commiſſions were all of the ſame tenor.

By the lords juſtices and council.

W. Parſons. John Borlace.

RIGHT truſty and well beloved, we greet you well. Whereas divers moſt diſloyal and maglignant perſons within this kingdom, have traiterouſly conſpired againſt his majeſty, his peace, crown and dignity; and many of them in execution of their conſpiracy, are traiterouſly aſſembled together in a warlike manner, and have moſt inhumanly made deſtruction and devaſtation of the perſons and eſtates of divers of his majeſty's good and loyal ſubjects of this kingdom, and taken, ſlain and impriſoned great numbers of them. We

1641. out of our care and zeal for the common good, being deſirous by all means to ſuppreſs the ſaid treaſons and traitors, and to conſerve the perſons and fortunes of his majeſty's loving ſubjects here in ſafety; and to prevent the further ſpoil and devaſtation of his majeſty's good people here; do therefore hereby require and authorize you to levy, raiſe and aſſemble, all, every, or any the forces, as well foot-men as horſe-men within the county of Meath, giving you hereby the command in chief of all the ſaid forces; and hereby further requiring and authorizing you as commander of them in chief, to arm, array, divide, diſtribute, diſpoſe, conduct, lead, and govern in chief the ſaid forces, according to your beſt diſcretion; and with the ſaid forces, to reſiſt, purſue, follow, apprehend, and put to death, ſlay and kill, as well by battle as other-ways, all and ſingular the ſaid conſpirators, traitors, and all their adherents, according to your diſcretion; and according to your conſcience and diſcretion to proceed againſt them, or any of them, by martial law, by hanging them, or any of them till they be dead, according as it hath been accuſtomed in time of open rebellion; and alſo to take, waſte, and ſpoil their, or any of their caſtles, holds, forts, houſes, goods and territories, or otherwiſe to preſerve the lives of them, or any of them, and to receive them into his majeſty's favour and mercy, and forbear the devaſtation of their, or any of their caſtles, forts, houſes, holds, goods, and territories aforementioned, according to your diſcretion: further hereby requiring and authoriſing you to do, execute, and perform, all and ſingular ſuch other things for examination of perſons ſuſpected, diſcovering

of

of traitors and their adherents, parlying with, and granting protections to them, or any of them, taking up of carts, carriages, and other conveniencies, ſending and retaining eſpials, victualling the ſaid forces, and other things whatſoever conducing to the purpoſe aforementioned, as you in your diſcretion ſhall think fit, and the neceſſity of the ſervice require; further hereby requiring and authorizing you, as commander in chief, to conſtitute and appoint ſuch officers and miniſters reſpectively, for the better performance and execution of all and ſingular the premiſes, as you in your diſcretion ſhall think fit. And we do hereby require and command, all and ſingular his majeſty's ſheriffs, officers and miniſters, and loving ſubjects, of and within the county of Meath, and the borders thereof, upon their faith and allegiance to his majeſty, and to his crown, to be aiding, helping, and aſſiſting to you, in the doing, and executing of all and ſingular the premiſſes: this our commiſſion to continue during our pleaſure only, and for the ſo doing, this ſhall be your ſufficient warrant. 1641.

Given at his majeſty's caſtle of Dublin, November 1641.

R. Dillon, Jo. Temple,
Ja. Ware. Rob. Meredith.

To our very good lord Nicholas, vic. com. Gormanſtone.

In theſe commiſſions it is very obſervable, that there was power given to theſe lords and gentlemen to whom they were directed, not only to uſe fire and ſword, for the deſtruction

1641. ſtruction of the rebels and their adherents, but alſo to preſerve the lives of any of them, to receive them, or any of them into his majeſty's favour or mercy. This plainly ſhews the very great confidence the lords were pleaſed to repoſe in them; as alſo their deſires to make them inſtruments, to deliver thoſe multitudes of people that engaged themſelves in this rebellion, from the power, either of his majeſty's arms, or civil juſtice. They intended nothing but the reducing of a rebellious nation; and they at the firſt applied lenitives, which failing in the cure, they were afterwards then enforced to have recourſe to more violent medicines.

Arms and munition delivered out to the lords and chief gentlemen of the pale, by the lords juſtices and council.

That theſe governors thus conſtituted, might be the better enabled according to the authority and power given unto them by their ſeveral commiſſions, to undertake the defence of the country in this high extremity of the near approaching dangers. The lords took order to have delivered unto them a certain proportion of arms, to be employed for the arming of ſome men to be raiſed in each county for the common ſafety, beſides the arms they gave them, and other gentlemen, for the defence of their own private houſes. As to the lord of Gormanſtone, there were delivered arms for five hundred men, for the county of Meath. There were alſo delivered arms for three hundred men for the county of Kildare. Arms for three hundred men for the county of Lowth. Arms for three hundred men for the county of Weaſtmeath. Arms for three hundred men for the county of Dublin. And about the ſame time there were ſent down four hundred muſkets, to the lords of the Ardes and

and Clandeboys, for the arming of the Scots, in the county of Down. All of theſe had powder, lead, and match, proportionable to their arms, at the ſame time delivered unto them. 1641.

But now the poiſon of this rebellion which had hitherto contained itſelf within the northern counties, and the confines of them, began to be deffuſed into other parts of the kingdom. It had already infected the counties of Letrim, Longford, Weſt-Meath, and Lowth, lying contiguous unto them. And upon the 12th of November, the Iriſh in the county of Wicklow brake out moſt furiouſly, deſpoiling, robbing and murthering all the Engliſh inhabitants within that territory. They burnt all their fair, well built houſes, drove away their cattle, and laid ſiege to fort Carew, wherein was a foot company of the old army. The news being brought to the lords juſtices thereof, they well conſidered the importance of the place, and that if it were in the hands of the rebels, and that whole county in their poſſeſſion, they could expect little quietneſs, or even ſafety in the city, by reaſon of their near neighbourhood. Whereupon they were moſt deſirous to have ſent down forces for the relief of it. But when they came on the other ſide to conſider their want of means for the performance of that ſervice, that they had no money, but few men, and many of them not fit to be truſted; that it would be very dangerous to divide their ſmall forces, and ſo to leave the city in a manner unguarded, they were enforced to lay aſide that reſolution, and with great grief to ſit ſtill and ſuffer the poor Engliſh in thoſe parts to be expoſed to the mercileſs

Several counties within the province of Lienſter declare themſelves for the rebels.

1641. merciles cruelties of thoſe barbarous rebels who went on furiouſly with the work, and quickly clear'd all the county of the Engliſh inhabitants. Within few days after, the Iriſh in the counties of Wexford and Caterlagh began to riſe likewiſe, and to follow the bloody examples of their neighbours. There were now alſo great appearances of the diſloyalty of the county of Kildare, who with large proteſtations under the pretence of doing ſervice, had got into their hands the arms and munition deſigned for them by the ſtate. And ſo myſterious and doubtful was the carriage of the lords and chief gentlemen of the Engliſh pale, giving no manner of intelligence to the ſtate of the proceedings of the rebels, nor making any kind of preparatives againſt them, as their infections began even then to be juſtly ſuſpected.

The ſad condition of the city of Dublin.

So as the city of Dublin being the receptacle of the whole ſtate, the magazine of all the arms, munition, and other proviſions for the army, and the chief ſanctuary of all the Engliſh and deſpoiled Proteſtants, was now reduced to a very ſad condition, deſperately encompaſſed on every ſide, the northern rebels being come down in two ſeveral parties with great forces within twenty miles of it on the one ſide, and the rebels of the county of Wicklow infeſting it on the other ſide: which with the great reſort of ſtrangers, and the continual rumours of new plots and divices to ſurpriſe the town, poſſeſſed the proteſtants with extraordinary fears of their preſent danger. But that which made their condition appear much more formidable unto them, was the daily repair of multitudes of Engliſh that came up in troops, ſtripped and miſerably

The reſort of men women and children to the city of Dublin, in a moſt miſerable poſture.

miſerably deſpoiled, out of the North. Many perſons of good rank and quality, cover'd over with old rags, and ſome without any other covering than a little twiſted ſtraw to hide their nakedneſs, ſome reverend miniſters, and others that had eſcaped with their lives, ſorely wounded. Wives came bitterly lamenting the murders of their huſbands; mothers of their children, barbarouſly deſtroyed before their faces, poor infants ready to periſh and pour out their ſouls in their mothers boſoms: ſome over-wearied with long travel, and ſo ſurbated, as they came creeping on their knees; others frozen up with cold, ready to give up the ghoſt in the ſtreets: others over-whelmed with grief, diſtracted with their loſſes, loſt alſo their ſenſes. 1641.

Thus was the town, within the compaſs of a few days after the breaking out of this rebellion, filled with theſe moſt lamentable ſpectacles of ſorrow, which in great numbers wandred up and down in all parts of the city, deſolate, forſaken, having no place to lay their heads on, no cloathing to cover their nakedneſs, no food to fill their hungry bellies. And to add to their miſeries, they found all manner of relief very diſpr opor tionable to their wants, the popiſh inhabitants refuſing to miniſter the leaſt comfort unto them; ſo as thoſe ſad creatures appeared like living ghoſts in every ſtreet. Many empty houſes in the city, were by ſpecial direction taken up for them; barns, ſtables, and out-houſes filled with them, yet many lay in the open ſtreets, and others under ſtalls, and there moſt miſerably periſhed. The churches were the common receptacles of the meaner ſort of them, who ſtood there in a moſt doleful

1641. ful poſture, as objects of charity, in ſo great multitudes, as there was ſcarce any paſſage into them. But thoſe of better quality, who could not frame themſelves to be common beggars, crept into private places; and ſome of them, that had not private friends to relieve them, even waſted ſilently away, and ſo died without noiſe. And ſo bitter was the remembrance of their former condition, and ſo inſupportable the burthen of their preſent calamity to many of them, as they even refuſed to be comforted. I have known of ſome that lay almoſt naked, and having cloathes ſent, laid them by, refuſing to put them on. Others that would not ſtir to fetch themſelves food, though they knew where it ſtood ready for them. But they continued to lie naſtily in their filthy rags, and even their own dung, not taking care to have any thing clean, handſome or comfortable about them. And ſo even worn out with the miſery of the journey and cruel uſage, having their ſpirits ſpent, their bodies waſted, and their ſenſes failing, lay here pitifully languiſhing; and ſoon after they had recovered this town, very many of them died, leaving their bodies as monuments of the moſt inhuman cruelties uſed towards them. The greateſt part of the women and children thus barbarouſly expelled out of their habitations, periſhed in the city of Dublin: and ſo great numbers of them were brought to their graves, as all the church-yards within the whole town were of too narrow a compaſs to contain them. So as the lords took order to have two large pieces of new ground, one on each ſide the river, taken in upon the out-greens, and ſet a-part for burying-places.

Theſe

1641.

Theſe were the memorable ſpectacles of mercy, and of the great commiſeration the rebels uſed to thoſe Engliſh, to whom they gave their lives for a prey. But what their ſufferings were, before they could get out of the hands of thoſe bloody villains, what ſtrange horrid inventions they uſed towards them, torturing and maſſacring thoſe they there murdered, is reſerved to be more fully related in its proper place. They are left upon record to poſterity, under the oaths of many that eſcaped, and mentioned here to no other purpoſe, than to ſhew the ſtrange horror and amazement the beholding of them bred in all the Engliſh and proteſtant inhabitants of the city. They ſeeing the rebels prevail ſo mightily, expected if they continued here to be undoubtedly expoſed to the ſame cruelties. And they now underſtood by thoſe who were come up from among them, that their deſign was, as ſoon as they had taken in Tredagh, to come and ſeize upon the city and caſtle of Dublin, and ſo make a general extirpation of all the Engliſh, root and branch, not to leave them name or poſterity throughout the whole kingdom.

The fears and diſtractions within the city of Dublin.

It is eaſy to conjecture what a ſad confuſed countenance the city then had. What fears, terrour, and aſtoniſhment the miſerable ſpectacles within, and the approaches of the rebels without, raiſed in the minds of an affrighted, diſtracted people. The Engliſh inhabitants looked upon all the horrid cruelties exerciſed abroad, all the calamities and deſolations fallen upon their country-men in other parts of the kingdom, as arrived at theſe gates, and now ready to enter: the avenues all open, neither hope nor means, neither

1641. neither rampiers nor trenches to keep them out. Notwithſtanding the careful travels and endeavours uſed by the lords juſtices and council to make proviſion for the common ſafety, no money could be raiſed, few men gotten together; the papiſts well furniſhed with arms cloſely concealed, and deſperately animated by their prieſts to all manner of miſchief: no fortifications about the ſuburbs, nor any manner of defence for the city, but an old ruinous wall, part whereof fell down in the very height of theſe diſtractions. And ſo careleſs were the citizens, and ſo ſlowly went they about the making up that breach, as under pretence of want of money, they let it lie open till the lords ſent unto them 40 l. towards the reparation. All things tended to a ſudden confuſion; the face of the very city was now changed, and had ſuch a ghaſtly aſpect, as ſeemed to portend her near approaching ruin: the means of ſafety appearing very ſlender and inconſiderable: the applications, by reaſon of the ſtrange Averſions of the popiſh party, of a very ſlow and weak operation. Every man began to conſider himſelf, and his own private preſervation. Thoſe that lived in the ſuburbs removed, with their families, into the city. The privy counſellours and perſons of quality, into the caſtle, which became a common repoſitory of all things of value. The rolls were by ſpecial order removed thither: the records of ſeveral other offices were likewiſe brought in. But upon the rebels advance ſomewhat nearer, and their frequent alarms, many of thoſe who had there taken ſanctuary, began to ſuſpect the ſtrength of thoſe old crazy walls, and therefore to make ſure, reſolved to quit the kingdom,

kingdom, imbarquing themſelves and their goods with all poſſible ſpeed. Some who were detained with contrary winds in the harbour, choſe rather to endure all extremities on ſhipboard, then to hazard themſelves a-ſhoar again. The Scottiſh fiſhermen, who lay with their boats in great numbers within the bay, fiſhing for herrings, having, with much forwardneſs, made an offer to the ſtate, to bring five hundred of their men a-ſhoar to be put in arms and do preſent ſervice (a propoſition at that ſeaſon moſt acceptable) were ſo ſtrangely affrighted one evening with a falſe alarm, as that in the night, on a ſudden, they put to ſea, and quite diſappeared on theſe coaſts till the year following. The papiſts on the other ſide being moſt confident that the city would be taken and ſack'd by the rebels, and fearing leſt haply they might be miſtaken in the tumult and fierce execution, removed themſelves and their goods with the ſame ſpeed into the country. And that which heightned the calamity of the poor Engliſh, was their flight in the winter, in ſuch a diſmal, ſtormy, tempeſtuous ſeaſon, as in the memory of man had never been obſerved formerly to continue ſo long together. Yet the terrour of the rebels incomparably prevailing beyond the rage of the ſea, moſt of thoſe who could provide themſelves of ſhipping, though at never ſo exceſſive rates, deſerted the city: and ſuch was the violence of the winds, ſuch continuing impetuous ſtorms, as ſeveral barques were caſt away; ſome in three months after their going from hence could recover no port in England; and almoſt all that then put to ſea, were in great danger of periſhing. The iniquities of the 1641.

1641. Engliſh nation, which were very great in this kingdom, were now full: heaven and earth ſeemed to conſpire together for the puniſhment of them. God certainly declared his high indignation againſt them for their great ſins wherewith they had long continued to provoke him in this land, and ſuffered theſe barbarous rebels to be the inſtruments of miſchief, and cruel executioners of his fierce wrath upon them. But "becauſe they have taken vengeance with a deſpiteful heart, to deſtroy them for the old hatred;" he will certainly in his own time "execute great vengeance upon them with furious rebukes:" as he threatned the Philiſtians in the like caſe.

Ezek 25. 15, 17.

THE

THE PARTICULARS OF THE

FIRST PLOT

OF THE

IRISH REBELLION:

TOGETHER

WITH a BRIEF NARRATION,

Of the moſt Notorious

Cruelties and Bloody Maſſacres,

WHICH

Enſued in ſeveral Parts of the KINGDOM.

THUS we ſee what a great height this rebellion was grown up unto, within the ſpace of leſs than one month, after the very firſt appearance of it: what horrid murders, cruel out-rages, and fearful deſolations it had already wrought in one province, and what a powerful operation the cruelties there acted had upon other parts. But before I paſs further, or come to declare the univerſal dilatation of it throughout the whole kingdom, and how it pleaſed God even miraculouſly to bleſs the painful endeavours of the ſtate, in the preſervation of the city and caſtle of Dublin, till the arrival of their long expected ſuccours out of England: I hold it

1641. Concerning the firſt plot of the rebellion.

1641. not amiſs to look back, and (as far as the late diſcoveries and dark glimmerings we have into the firſt plot will admit) to trace it up to the firſt beginnings we find of it within this kingdom of Ireland.

Who were the plotters of it not yet clearly diſcovered.

Concerning the firſt original of this great conſpiracy, as likewiſe the firſt plotters and contrivers of it, I muſt ingenuouſly confeſs, that I am myſelf much unſatisfied in the firſt conceptions of this monſtrous birth, and therefore ſhall not now be able clearly to reſolve others therein: I cannot yet determine who were the very firſt contrivers, where the firſt debates were entertained, or who firſt ſate in council about it. This, as all other works of this nature, had its foundation laid in the dark, and ſealed up, no doubt, with many execrable oaths, the great engines of theſe times, to bind up the conſciences as well as the tongues of men from diſcovery: beſides, they knew well enough, that the plot being moſt abominable in itſelf, to be carried on with ſuch deteſtable cruelty, ſhould it take and be fully executed (which commonly gives to all other treaſons applauſe and higheſt commendation) would certainly render the firſt authors, as well as the bloody actors, moſt odious and execrable to all poſterity: therefore it is not much to be wondered, that the firſt beginnings, ſo myſterious and obſcurely laid, remain as yet concealed with ſo great Obſtinacy: but yet I am very confident, that upon view of ſeveral examinations, any reaſonable man will conclude with me, that the very firſt principles of this inhuman conſpiracy, were roughly drawn and hammered out of the Romiſh Forge, powerfully fomented by the treachery and virulent

lent animosities of some of the Irish natives, and so by degrees, by them moulded into that ugly shape wherein it first appeared: there certainly it received the first life and motion, whether at Rome, whether in Ireland, or in any other place, I cannot yet determine: but my meaning is, it was first hatched and set on foot by those most vigilant and industrious emissaries, who are sent continually abroad by the power of that see with full commission, *per fas & nefas*, to make way for the re-establishment of the Romish religion in all parts where it hath been suppressed. Great numbers of these wicked instruments (the laws against all the Romish clergy, being of late laid aside, and tacitly suspended execution) came over into Ireland: the main ground-work, and first pre-dispositions to a rebellion in general, were most undoubtedly with great dexterity and artifice laid by them; their venemous infusion taking such deep root in the minds of a blind, ignorant, superstitious people, as made them ready for a change; the great ones mischievously to plot and contrive, the inferior sort tumultuously to rise up and execute whatsoever they should command.

And if we will give credit to several examinations taken, many of them from those of their own, we must believe the plot for a rebellion in Ireland, of a very ancient date, as well as of a large extent: it had been long in contriving, and howsoever, peradventure first thought on in Ireland, yet received large contributions towards the consummation out of England and other foreign parts.

The general plot for a rebellion in Ireland of an antient date.

I have seen an examination of one, who affirms he heard it confidently averred by

1641. Malone a prieſt, one that ſtiled himſelf Chaplain Major within the Pale, that he himſelf had been ſeven years employed in bringing on this plot to perfection, and that he had travelled into ſeveral parts about it.

Mr. Goldſmith, a miniſter in Conaught, told me, that he did, a full year before the rebellion broke out, receive a letter from a brother of his, reſiding at Bruſſels, wherein he gave him notice thereof, though ſo obſcurely, as he well underſtood it not till afterwards.

Patrick O Bryan's examination. Patrick O Bryan, of the pariſh of Galloom, in the county of Fermanagh, affirmeth upon oath, that all the nobles in the kingdom that were papiſts, had a hand in this plot, as well as the lord Mac-Gwire, Hugh Oge, and Mac-Mahown; that they expected aid out of Spain by Owen Roe O Neal; and that colonel Plunket, one of thoſe that was to be an actor in the ſurpriſe of the caſtle of Dublin, told him, that he knew of this plot eight years ſince, and that within theſe three years he hath been more fully acquainted with it.

Francis Sacheveril, eſq; his examination. Francis Sacheveril, eſq; hath depoſed, that at ſeveral times ſhortly after the beginning of this rebellion, he hath heard four ſeveral popiſh prieſts, viz. Hugh Rely of the county of Down, Edmund O Tunnah of the county of Armagh, Morice Mac-Credan of the county of Tyrone, and James Hallegan of the county of Armagh, ſay, That the prieſts, jeſuits and friars of England, Ireland, Spain, and other countries beyond the ſeas, were the plotters, projectors and contrivers of this rebellion and inſurrection, and that they have been theſe ſix years in agitation and preparation of the ſame; and that the ſaid prieſts did then expreſs a kind of joy that the ſame was brought

brought to ſo good effect: he alſo further depoſeth, that at ſeveral times Ever Boy Mac-Gennis in the county of Down, gent. and Hugh O Hagan in the county of Armagh, gent. did brag and ſay, that they doubted not but that they ſhould ſhortly conquer the Engliſh in the kingdom, and enjoy the ſame quietly to themſelves, and that they would not reſt ſo content, but they would raiſe ſtrong armies to invade and conquer England. Roger Moore, one of the prime conſpirators, told Mr. Colely, then priſoner with him, that the plot had been in framing ſeveral years, and ſhould have been executed ſeveral times, but they were ſtill hindred. By letters ſent from Rome to ſir Phelim O Neal, and the lord Mac-Gwire, which were intercepted and brought to the lord Parſons, though the fryar that writ them doth not expreſs any certain knowledge of this very plot; yet thus much appears by them, that they had long deſired to hear of the riſing of the Iriſh; that the news of ſir Phelim O Neal's taking arms was very acceptable to the pope and and his two cardinal nephews, aſſuring him of all aſſiſtance from thence; and further, deſiring him to ſend an agent to Rome, and to employ ſeveral perſons of his own nation, whom he there named, then reſiding at Madrid, Paris, and with the emperour, they being fit inſtruments, and ſuch as he might make uſe of for the procuring ſuccours from thoſe princes whom he aſſured him would join to give him all aſſiſtance in this action. 1641.

The Iriſh have had it long in deſign to ſhake off the Engliſh government.

Beſides theſe, we have very many other preſumptions that the Iriſh, ſince they found their own ſtrength, and that they were able to draw together ſo great numbers of

1641 men, as their ſeveral ſepts ſo ſtrangely multiplied during the late peace, can now afford, have long had it in deſign to ſhake off the Engliſh government, to ſettle the whole power of the ſtate in the hands of the natives, and to re-poſſeſs them of all the lands now enjoyed by the Britiſh throughout the kingdom: and that in this plot they did but go about to actuate thoſe confuſed general notions, and to put them in a way of execution. Now they ſuppoſed there could never be offered unto them a fairer opportunity than this moſt unhappy conjuncture of the affairs of Great-Britain, when Scotland lately in arms, had by their own power and wiſe management, drawn his majeſty to condeſcend to their entire ſatisfaction, as well in their church-diſcipline, as the liberties of that kingdom. And in England, the Diſtractions being grown to ſome height, through the great miſunderſtanding betwixt the king and his parliament, Ireland was at this time left naked and unregarded, the government in the hands of juſtices, the old army diſperſed in places of ſo great diſtance, as it could be of little advantage, the common ſoldiers moſt of them Iriſh, and all the old commanders and captains, except ſome few, worn out and gone: this, as the firſt plotters thought, was the time to work out their own ends; and masking their perfidious deſigns under the public pretences of religion, and the defence of his majeſty's prerogative, they let looſe the reins of their own vindictive humour and irreconcileable hatred to their Britiſh neighbours.

I will not preſume to ſay, they knew what would fall out in England, or what miſerable

rable embroilments that kingdom was ready to break out into; for undoubtedly the firſt plot was laid, and moſt exactly formed, many months before the war broke out between the king and his people. But thus much I ſhall be bold to affirm, that upon the very firſt breaking out of this rebellion, they did ſtrangely conjecture, and beyond all appearance of reaſon, even ſomewhat poſitively divine, of the diſmal breach and fearful diſtempers which afterwards followed to the diſabling of the kingdom of England from applying remedies towards the reducement of Ireland. For the atteſtation of this truth, I could produce the general concurrence of ſeveral circumſtances, many private diſcourſes and advertiſements, as alſo a particular letter which I had long by me, written as it ſeems, from a very intelligent papiſt, a great zealot in the cauſe, unto a nephew of ſir Toby Matthews, then in Dublin, who tho' lately converted, retained yet a great friendſhip among them. He tells him in the beginning of his letter; "That he was deſired from ſome well wiſhing friends, to adviſe him, as he tendred his ſafety and ſecurity, upon the ſight of thoſe, inſtantly to forſake and abandon that troubleſome and moſt unfortunate kingdom, for God and man had ſpeedily reſolved to afflict and puniſh the over-grown impieties of theſe prophane times, all hearts and hands happily conſpiring to it; and that he ſhould be as ſpeedy in his paſſage as was poſſible, and rather, as the caſe ſtood, hazard all dangers by ſea, than the leaſt at land, to be ſure not to ſtop in England, eſpecially at London, that ſink of ſin (as he calls it) and center of diſorders, for

1642.

by

1641. by that time he arrived there, he ſhould be ſure to find nothing but troubles, factions and deſparate diſtempers; that he ſhould diſpatch therefore for Paris, or rather Bruſſels, where there ſhould be order taken for the removal of all miſtakes betwixt him and his uncle." This letter was written about the beginning of November 1641, which was ſome few days after the breaking out of this rebellion, and full ſix months before the taking up of arms in England.

The plot for a rebellion in Ireland firſt diſcovered to the lord Mac-guire and others about the time of Mr. John Bellew's return out of England, with commiſſion to continue the parliament in Ireland, which was in Jan. 1640.

Now for the very time when this great plot received its firſt form, though I conceive it of ſomewhat a more antient date, yet by all the examinations I have hitherto ſeen, I can carry it up no higher than the month of January, 1640, and that it was about that time communicated to ſome of the chief gentlemen of Ulſter, the lord Mac-Guire doth ſufficiently teſtify as well in the relation written with his own hand in the tower, and delivered by him to ſir John Coniers, then lieutenant, to be preſented to the lords in parliament, as alſo in his examination taken before the lord Lambert and ſir Robert Meredith, knight, in Ireland, March 26th, 1642. In both theſe he acknowledgeth, that he being in Dublin in Candlemas term, about the time when Mr. John Bellew came out of England with the commiſſion for the continuance of the parliament in Ireland; Roger Moore acquainted him, that if the Iriſh would riſe, they might make their own conditions for the regaining of their lands, and freedom of their religion; and further ſaith, that he had ſpoken with ſundry of Leinſter to that purpoſe, who would be ready to join with them, as likewiſe a good part of Conaught, and that he

he found all of them willing thereto, if ſo be they could draw to them the gentlemen of Ulſter. 1641.

Now for the manner of putting this plot in execution, the ſaid lord Mac-guire, doth further teſtify in his relation aforeſaid, that the ſaid Roger Moore having the next day acquainted Philip O Rely, Turlagh O Neal, brother to ſir Phelim O Neal, Maſter Coſlóe, and Mac-Mahon herewith, did propoſe, that firſt, every one ſhould endeavour to draw his own friends into that act, at leaſt thoſe that did live in one country with them; and that when they had ſo done, they ſhould ſend for the Iriſh in the Low-countries and in Spain, to let them know of the day and reſolution, ſo that they might be over with them by that day, or ſoon after, with ſupply of arms and munition; that there ſhould be a ſet day appointed, and every one in his own quarters ſhould riſe out that day, and ſeize upon all the arms he could get in his own county, and this day to be near winter, ſo that England could not be able to ſend forces into Ireland before May, and by that time there was no doubt to be made, but that they themſelves would be ſupplied by the Iriſh from beyond the ſeas. Then he told them further, that there was no doubt to be made of the Iriſh joining with them, and that all the doubt was in the gentlemen of the pale; but he ſaid, for his own part, he was really aſſured, that when they had riſen out, the pale gentlemen would not ſtay long after, at leaſt they would not oppoſe any thing; and that in caſe they did, that they had men enough in the kingdom without them: moreover, that he had ſpoken to a great man (who then ſhould be nameleſs) who

1641. who would not fail at the day appointed, to appear and to be ſeen in the act, but that till then he was ſworn not to reveal him, but yet that upon their importunity, he afterwards told them, it was the lord of Mayo, who was very powerful in the command of men in thoſe parts of Conaught where he lived: he further ſaith, that in Lent following, Mr. Moore, according to his promiſe, came into Ulſter, but that nothing was done there, but all matters put off till May following, when they met at Dublin, it being both parliament and term time, and that from thence they diſpatched one Tooly Conley pariſh prieſt to Mr. Moore, to Colonel O Neal, in the Low-countries, who within few months after arrived with this anſwer from the ſaid Colonel, deſiring them not to delay any time in riſing out, but to let him know of the day when they intended it, and that he would not fail to be with them within fourteen days of that day, with good aid; alſo deſiring them by any means to ſeize on the caſtle of Dublin if they could. And further he ſaith, that during the time of theſe their private meetings, there landed at Dublin, Colonel Birne, Colonel Plunket, captain Brian O Neal and others, who came with directions to carry men away, and that theſe were acquainted with the plot, and did offer their ſervice to bring it on, that they would raiſe their men under colour to carry them into Spain, and then ſeize on the caſtle of Dublin, and with the arms found there, arm their ſoldiers, and have them ready for any action that ſhould be commanded them. He further alſo ſaith, that they had divers private conſultations about the carrying

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ing on of this conſpiracy, not only at Dublin, but in ſeveral other places in the province of Ulſter, and that they had ſet down ſeveral days for the putting of it in execution, but meeting with ſome obſtacles did not come to conclude of the certain time till about the beginning of September; and that then they peremptorily reſolved on the 23d of October, for the day to execute this long deſigned plot in; and that they had reſpect unto the day of the week, which did fall on Saturday, being the market-day, on which there would be the leſs notice taken of people up and down the ſtreets; that they then ſettled what numbers of men ſhould be brought up out of the ſeveral provinces for the ſurprize of the caſtle, and what commanders ſhould lead them on; that ſeeing the caſtle had two gates, that the Leinſter men ſhould undertake to ſeize upon the little gate, which lay neareſt to the place where the arms and munition was placed; and that the great gate ſhould be undertaken by thoſe of Ulſter, and that ſir Phelim O Neal ſhould be there in perſon; but that he excus'd himſelf, becauſe he reſolved at the ſame time to ſeize upon London-derry, and that thereupon by the importunity of the undertakers, it was impos'd upon him the ſaid lord Mac-Guire, to be there in perſon at the taking of the caſtle of Dublin. That it was further reſolved, what number of forces ſhould be brought up out of the other provinces, to make good thoſe places if poſſeſſed by them, and that ſir James Dillon did undertake to be there with a thouſand men within four days after the taking of the caſtle; as alſo that it was reſolved that every one privy to that matter in every

1641.

1641. every part of the kingdom, ſhould riſe out that day and ſeize on all the forts and arms in the ſeveral counties; as likewiſe on all the gentry, and make them priſoners, the more to aſſure themſelves againſt any adverſe fortune, and not to kill any, but where of neceſſity they ſhould be forced thereunto by oppoſition. Theſe particulars, together with many other circumſtances very conſiderable, are ſet down in the relation given in by the lord Mac-Guire, while he remained priſoner in the tower of London; but I have thought fit to forbear to relate them at large, becauſe I find that relation publiſhed by authority, and ſo preſented to the common view. We ſhall find alſo, that Mac-Mahon in his examination taken when he was firſt apprehended by the lords juſtices and council here, doth teſtify that all the chief of the nobility and gentry in this kingdom were acquainted with the firſt plot, and particularly, that all the popiſh party in the committee ſent into England, as likewiſe in both houſes of parliament knew of it: in the examination of William Fitz-Gerald, it is there affirmed, that ſir Phelim O Neal ſending for him five days after his riſing in arms, told him, what he did was by directions and conſent of the prime nobility and gentry of the whole kingdom; and that what he had done in the northern parts, the ſame was executed at Dublin, and in all other forts and towns throughout Ireland: as being a courſe reſolved upon among the lords and gentry, for the preſervation of his majeſty's prerogative, their own religion and liberties, againſt the puritan faction in England, Scotland, and Ireland. And that the lord of Gormanſtone knew of this plot while he was in England,

England, is teſtified by lieutenant colonel Read in his examination, as alſo by the lord Mac-Guire in his relation; who ſaith that colonel Plunket told him, that he being at London, had acquainted ſome of the Iriſh committee, and particularly the lord of Gormanſtone, with this plot, and that they approved it well: colonel Plunket in his letter to father Patrick Barnwal, lord Abbot of Mellifont (as he ſtiles him) doth ſeem much to glory in the means he had uſed to incite the lords and gentry of the pale to appear in that bleſſed cauſe (as he terms it) and aſſures him that the lord of Gormanſtone, whom he there calls lord-general, will go bravely on. 1641.

The firſt contrivers of the Rebellion did not firſt openly appear in it.

And now it will be no difficult matter to reſolve what were the ſecondary ſteps and motions of this great plot, as well as by what perſons it was wrought out in Ireland, and carried on to the very point of execution. And firſt it is to be obſerved, that howſoever ſir Phelim O Neal, the lord Mac-Guire, Philip O Rely, colonel Mac-Brian, Hugh Mac-Mahon and their adherents, chief of the Iriſh ſepts in Ulſter, and other counties near adjacent, did firſt appear upon the ſtage, and by the bloody execution, notoriouſly declare themſelves chief actors in this horrid tragedy: yet this rebellion was either altogether originally plotted by them, or moſt of them had but ſubordinate notions of it, and they as other of the chief nobility and gentry throughout the kingdom, had ſeveral parts aſſigned them to act at ſeveral times, in ſeveral places, and did but move according to the firſt reſolutions taken, and ſuch directions as they had received from the firſt conſpirators: I take it to be moſt probable, after the general plot came

1641. That the lord Gormanſtone and ſome others of the Engliſh pale, were engaged in the firſt plot, is very probable.

came to be reduced into form, that as the lord of Gormanſtone was one of the firſt and chief movers in it, ſo he and the chief of the pale joined together to draw in (as they had done in all former rebellions) the principal ſepts of the old Iriſh, to engage themſelves, and to appear firſt in the buſineſs: and after they had joined together, and ſo finely order'd the matter, as they had made it a general riſing, as ſir Phelim O Neal terms it, of all the catholicks throughout the kingdom with the general conſent of the prime nobility and gentry thereof; then as it were with one general voice, they ſounded forth from all the four provinces of Ireland the ſame language, they uſed the ſame remonſtrances, and made the very ſame pretences for their juſtification, they began the very ſelf-ſame courſe, firſt in ſtripping, then baniſhing and murdering the Britiſh and Proteſtants, only in the north, they drove on ſomewhat more furiouſly, and ſpilt much more innocent blood, than in any of the other three provinces: they agreed likewiſe in recalling their commanders, all the four provinces had their particular emiſſaries abroad: thoſe of Leinſter brought back colonel Preſton, a branch out of the houſe of Gormanſtone, who had long lived with good reputation in Flanders, and him they made general of their forces there; but of Ulſter they ſent into Flanders likewiſe for Owen Roe O Neal, upon whom they conferred the ſame charge in that province: the Munſter men brought over Garret Barry, whom they made general of their forces: and thoſe in Conaught drew back one of the Burks, to whom they gave the chief command of ſuch men as they were able to draw together for the advancement of

of the common deſign: all theſe held a due correſpondency, and in all their actions had a juſt concurrency towards the main end. 1641.

The great inſtrument chiefly employed in this work of drawing the meer Iriſh into a firm combination with the old Engliſh (as appears by the lord Mac-Gwire's relation before-mentioned) was Roger Moore, eſq; a perſon of broken fortune, by deſcent meerly Iriſh, iſſued out of the chief family of the O Moores in the county of Leax, but by intermarriages allied to ſome of the principal gentlemen of the Pale: he treated with them about the aſſociation; he firſt broke the deſign to the northern Iriſh; he was the man that made ſeveral journies in Lienſter, into Ulſter and Conaught: ſundry meſſages were interchangeably ſent and returned the ſummer before the breaking out of the rebellion by his means and entercourſe between them: and all things were ſo ordered for their agreement, as they were to go hand in hand together; ſome of the principal gentlemen of the Pale, as colonel Plunket, captain Fox, and others, were deſigned to join with the lord Mac-Gwire, Mac-Mahon, Brian O Neal, Con O Neal, Hugh Birne, for the ſurpriſe of his majeſty's caſtle of Dublin. Cartan, Major Domi to Owen O Neal in Flanders, in his examination taken February 1641. tells, among many other remarkable paſſages, of ſeveral preparatives to this rebellion; as that Con O Neal, brother to Daniel O Neal, was ſent by Owen O Neal into England, and that while he reſided there he received letters from the preſident Roſſe (which was ſir Philem O Neal) and that he aſſured him he went on very well in his buſineſs; for Brabant and Valence were

Roger Moore the chief perſon imployed to make a conjunction between the meer Iriſh and the Engliſh for raiſing a Rebellion.

1641. joined together, which, as he affirms, ſignified in thoſe characters Ulſter and Leinſter, and that he expected the coming of Lewis Lenoy, viz. Daniel O Neal. Beſides, as James Talbot, eſq; teſtifies in his letter of the 9th of November 1641. written to the lords juſtices out of the county of Cavan, that he underſtood from Philip Mac-Mulmore O Rely, that there were certain covenants paſſed between the lords of the Pale and the northern Iriſh, for the advancing of the rebellion; and that the remonſtrance from the principal Iriſh in the county of Cavan, unto the lords juſtices and council ſent by dean Jones, and Mr. Waldron, there then priſoner, was framed in the Pale and brought unto the ſaid Iriſh by colonel Plunket, one of their own: and this was in the very beginning of the rebellion, long before any jealouſies were entertained by the ſtate of the adherence or conjunction of the old Engliſh with the Iriſh. What thoſe covenants or contracts were, I cannot ſay, but it is moſt certain ſome there were, and ſome covenants alſo entered into between the northern Iriſh, and the lords and gentlemen of the chief of both the other provinces, as well as Leinſter, and theſe were ſigned with their blood, as doctor Maxwell teſtifies in his examination, he heard ſir Phelim O Neal ſay on the 19th of December 1641. in his own houſe, and in the hearing of Mr. Joſeph Travers and others: if the lords and gentlemen (meaning the papiſts of other provinces) then not in arms, would not riſe, but leave him in the lurch for all, he would produce his warrant, ſigned with their own hands and written in their own blood, which ſhould bring them to the gallows. And certainly,

tainly, had there not been ſome very ſtrange and extraordinary engagements, and more than I can well imagine, it had not been poſſible that ſo many perſons of quality, having great poſſeſſions and many children, ſhould have declared themſelves, after they ſaw the main part of the plot for the ſurpriſe of the caſtle of Dublin to fail, and the power of the northern rebels begin to decline, that the parliament of England had with great alacrity and readineſs undertaken the war, and not only engaged themſelves to his majeſty to ſend over powerful ſupplies both out of England and Scotland, but by their publick order of both houſes, ſent over to the lords juſtices, and printed at Dublin in the month of November, fully declared their reſolutions for the vigorous proſecution of the war of Ireland: Nay, the cities of Galway and Limerick, kept their deſigns very covertly, not doing any open acts of hoſtility, till after the arrival of ſome forces at Dublin out of England, and that the ſiege of Drogheda or Tredagh was raiſed, and thoſe bold perfidious traytors beaten back into the north, the lords of the Pale baniſhed by force of his majeſty's arms out of their own habitations, which were all ſpoiled and laid waſte. 1641.

Now! that then they ſhould declare themſelves, is more than a miracle to me, and ſuch a myſtery, as I ſhould not know what to think of, but that I find in the lord MacGwire's relation before-mentioned, that they were acquainted with the firſt beginnings of this great plot, and had a particular intereſt from time to time in the carriage of it on, ſo as I think I ſhall not wrong them poſitively to determine, that they were too

1641 deeply engaged ſlightly to retire: and that howſoever upon the failing of it in the main piece, they at firſt ſtood at a gaze, and were put to take up ſecond counſels; yet ſuch was the ſtrength of the conſpiracy, and their great confidence in the power of their arms, as made them appear in due time to entertain their ſeveral aſſignations, and act their parts with great diligence and induſtry. The wife of Philip O Rely, in the county of Cavan, told James Talbot (as he openly related it to the lords juſtices at the council-board) that ſhe wondered very much the lords and gentlemen of the Pale did not riſe and join with them in the very beginning of this rebellion, adding theſe words, or to this effect; "That if they would let us alone, and not ſet us on, we were ſo well at eaſe, as we would never have begun this troubleſome work." It cannot certainly be imagined, that thoſe of the Engliſh pale (unleſs they had been the firſt projectors, or deep adventurers) would have yielded that the meer Iriſh ſhould have ſeized upon the city and caſtle of Dublin, places of refuge for them in all former troubles, and which would now have given them protection and ſafety againſt the incurſions of the Iriſh.

The Romiſh clergy and the popiſh lawyers, great inſtruments in the firſt plotting and carrying on the rebellion.

But I hold it not neceſſary to produce further evidence in this particular; I purpoſe now to declare how thoſe great inſtruments of miſchief, that were the ſupream conductors of this wicked deſign, moved forwards ſo ſucceſsfully in the beginning, toward the accompliſhment of their long intended extirpation of all the Britiſh and Proteſtants out of the kingdom. I find two ſorts of perſons who did moſt eminently appear in laying thoſe main fundamentals whereupon their

their bloody ſuperſtructures were afterwards eaſily reared up: and theſe were ſuch of the popiſh lawyers as were natives of the kingdom, and thoſe of the Romiſh clergy of ſeveral degrees and orders. For the firſt, they had in regard of their knowledge of the laws of the land, very great reputation and truſt, they now began to ſtand up like great patriots for the vindication of the liberties of the ſubject, and redreſs of their pretended grievances, and having by their bold appearing therein, made a great party in the houſe of commons, here then ſitting, ſome of them did there magiſterially obtrude, as undoubted maxims of law, the pernicious ſpeculations of their own brain, which though plainly diſcerned to be full of virulency, and tending to ſedition, yet ſo ſtrangely were many of the proteſtants and well meaning men in the houſe blinded with an apprehenſion of eaſe and redreſs, and ſo ſtupified with their bold accuſations of the government, as moſt thought not fit, others durſt not ſtand up to contradict their fond aſſertions; ſo as what they ſpake was received with great acclamation, and much applauſe by moſt of the proteſtant members of the houſe; many of which, under ſpecious pretences of publick zeal to this country, they had inveigled into their party: and then it was, that having impeached ſir Richard Bolton, lord chancellor of Ireland, of high-treaſon, together with other prime officers and miniſters of ſtate that were of Engliſh birth, ſome of thoſe great maſters took upon them with much confidence to declare the law, to make new expoſitions of their own upon the text, to frame their queries, challenges fitter to be taken to a long, wilfully, over-grown

1641.

The Iriſh lawyers draw a great party in the houſe of commons to adhere to them.

1641. miſgovernment, than to be made againſt an authority, that had for many years ſtruggled againſt the beloved irregularities of a ſtubborn people, and which had prevailed far beyond former times, towards the allaying of the long continued diſtempers of the kingdom: they diſdain'd the moderate qualifications of the judges, who gave them modeſt anſwers, ſuch as the law and duty to their ſovereign would admit. But thoſe would not ſerve their turn, they reſolved upon an alteration in the government, and drawing of it wholly into the hands of the natives, which they knew they could not compaſs in a parliamentary way, and therefore only made preparatives there, and delivered ſuch deſperate maxims, which being diffuſed abroad would fit and diſpoſe the people to a change: as they declared it to be law, that being killed in rebellion, though found by matter of record, would give the king no forfeiture of eſtates: that though many thouſands ſtood up in arms in a kingdom, working all manner of deſtruction, yet if they profeſſed not to riſe againſt the king, that it was no rebellion: that if a man were out-lawed for treaſon, and his land thereby veſted in the crown, or given away by the king, his heir might come afterwards to be admitted to reverſe the outlawry, and recover his anceſtor's eſtate. And many other poſitions of a perilous conſequence, tending to ſedition and diſturbance, did they continue to publiſh during that ſeſſion, and by the power and ſtrength of their party, ſo far did they prevail at laſt, as they preſumed to attempt a ſuſpenſion of Poyning's act, and indeed intended the utter abrogation of that ſtatute, which remains as one

one of the greateſt ties and beſt monuments the Engliſh have of their intire dominion over the Iriſh nation, and the annexion of that kingdom to the imperial crown of England. They further aſſumed power of judicature to the parliament in criminal and capital offences: a right which no former age hath left any precedent for, neither would this admit the example. 1641.

And thus carrying all things before them, they continued the ſeſſion of parliament begun in May, till about two months before the firſt breaking out of this rebellion; it being very ill taken, that even then they were adjourned. And this they have ſince aggravated as a high crime againſt the lords juſtices, and as one of the chief moving cauſes to the taking up of arms generally throughout the kingdom.

But to let thoſe things paſs, how finely ſoever theſe proceedings were carried on, and being covered over with pretences of zeal and publick affection, paſſed then currant without any manner of ſuſpicion; yet now the eyes of all men are opened, and they are fully reſolved that all theſe paſſages, together with the other high conteſtations in parliament, not to have the newly raiſed Iriſh army diſbanded, the importunate ſolicitation of their agents in England, to have the old army in Ireland caſhiered, and the kingdom left to be defended by trained bands of their own nation; as likewiſe the commiſſions procured by ſeveral of the moſt eminent commanders now in rebellion, for the raiſing men to carry into Spain, were all parts of this plot, prologues to this enſuing tragedy, preparatives, ſuch as had been long laid, to bring on the

1641. ſudden execution of this moſt bloody deſign, all at one and the ſame time throughout the kingdom.

The means uſed by the prieſts and jeſuits to ſtir up the people to rebel.

Now for the jeſuits, prieſts, friers, and all the reſt of the viperous fraternity belonging to their holy orders; who, as I ſaid, had a main part to act, and have not failed with great aſſiduity and diligence to diſcharge the ſame. They loſt no time, but moſt dexterouſly applied themſelves in all parts of the country to lay ſuch other dangerous impreſſions in the minds, as well of the meaner ſort as of the chief gentlemen, as might make them ready to take fire upon the firſt occaſion. And when this plot was ſo ſurely, as they thought, laid, as it could not well fail, and the day once prefixed for execution, they did in their publick devotions long before, recommend by their prayers, the good ſucceſs of a great deſign, much tending to the proſperity of the kingdom, and the advancement of the catholick cauſe. And for the facilitating of the work, and ſtirring up of the people with greater animoſity and cruelty to put it on at the time prefixed, they loudly in all places declaimed againſt the proteſtants, telling the people that they were hereticks, and not to be ſuffered any longer to live among them; that it was no more ſin to kill an Engliſhman, than to kill a dog; and that it was a moſt mortal and unpardonable ſin to relieve or protect any of them. Then alſo they repreſented with much acrimony the ſevere courſes taken by the parliament in England, for the ſuppreſſing of the Romiſh religion in all parts of the kingdom, and utter extirpation of all profeſſors of it. They told the people, that in England they had

cauſed

caused the queen's priest to be hanged before her own face, and that they held her majesty in her own person under a most severe discipline: that the same cruel laws against popery were here ordered to be put suddenly in execution; and a design secretly laid for bringing and seizing upon all the principal noblemen and gentlemen in Ireland upon the 23d of November next ensuing, and so to make a general massacre of all that would not desert their religion, and presently become protestants. 1641.

The Irish revive their ancient animosities against the English.

And now also did they take occasion to revive their inveterate hatred and ancient animosities against the English nation, whom they represented to themselves as hard masters; under whose government, how pleasant, comfortable and advantageous soever it was, they would have the world believe they had endured a most miserable captivity and envassalage. They looked with much envy upon their prosperity, considering all the land they possessed (though a great part bought at high rates of the natives) as their own proper inheritance. They grudged at the great multitudes of their fair English cattle; at their goodly houses, though built by their own industry at their own charges; and at the large improvements they made of their estates, by their own travels and careful endeavours. They spake with much scorn and contempt of such as brought little with them into Ireland, and having there planted themselves, in a little time contracted great fortunes: they were much troubled, especially in the Irish countries, to see the English live handsomely, and to have every thing with much decency about them, while they lay nastily buried, as it

1641. it were, in mire and filthineſs; the ordinary ſort of people commonly bringing their cattle into their own ſtinking creates, and there naturally delighting to lie among them. Theſe malignant conſiderations made them with an envious eye impatiently to look upon all the Britiſh lately come over into the kingdom. Nothing leſs than a general extirpation will now ſerve their turn; they muſt have reſtitution of all the lands to the proper natives, whom they take to be the ancient proprietors, and only true owners moſt unjuſtly deſpoiled by the Engliſh, whom they hold to have made undue acquiſitions of all the land they poſſeſs by gift from the crown, upon the attainder of any of their anceſtors.

The ends propoſed by the firſt plotters of the rebellion.

And ſo impetuous were the deſires of the natives to draw the whole government of the kingdom into their own hands, to enjoy the publick profeſſion of their religion, as well as to diſburden the country of all the Britiſh inhabitants ſeated therein, as they made the whole body of the ſtate to be univerſally diſliked; repreſented the ſeveral members as perſons altogether corrupt and ill affected; pretended the ill humours and diſtempers in the kingdom to be grown to that height as required cauteries, deep inciſions; and indeed nothing able to work ſo great a cure, but an univerſal rebellion. This was certainly the diſeaſe, as appears by all the ſymptoms, and the joint concurrence in opinion of all the great phyſicians that held themſelves wiſe enough to propoſe remedies, and preſcribe fit applications to ſo deſperate a malady. In thoſe inſtructions privately ſent over into England by the lord Dillon

Dillon of Coſteloz, preſently after the breaking out of the rebellion, the alteration of the ſupream power in the government and ſettling of it in the hands of the earl of Ormonde, giving leave to the grand council of the kingdom to remove ſuch officers of ſtate, as they thought fit, and to recommend natives to their places, were thus poſitively laid down to be a more likely means to appeaſe theſe tumults than a conſiderable army. In the remonſtrance of the county of Longford, preſented about the ſame time to the lords juſtices, by the ſame lord Dillon, as alſo in the frame of the common-wealth, found at ſir John Dungar's houſe, not far from Dublin, and ſent up thither out of Conaught to be communicated to thoſe of Leinſter; pieces which publickly appeared ſoon after the breaking out of the rebellion; the points inſiſted upon in them and ſeveral others, were reſtauration of the public profeſſion of the Romiſh religion; reſtitution of all the plantation lands unto the natives, and ſettlement of the preſent government in their hands. All the remonſtrances from ſeveral parts, and that came out of the ſeveral provinces of the kingdom, do concur in theſe propoſitions, with very little or no difference. And therefore that the deſires with the firſt intentions of thoſe who are now out in rebellion, may more clearly appear; I have thought fit here to inſert them as I found them, methodically digeſted into certain propoſitions, termed,

1641.

The true cauſes of the rebellion.

The

1641

The means to reduce this kingdom unto peace and quietneſs,

1. THAT a general and free pardon, without any exception, be granted to all his majeſty's ſubjects of this kingdom; and that in purſuance thereof, and for ſtrengthening the ſame, an act of abolition may paſs in the parliament here.

2. That all marks of national diſtinctions between Engliſh and Iriſh may be aboliſhed and taken away by act of parliament.

3. That by ſeveral acts of parliament to be reſpectively paſſed here and in England, it be declared that the parliament of Ireland hath no ſubordination with the parliament of England, but that the ſame hath in itſelf ſupream juriſdiction in this kingdom, as abſolute as the parliament of England there hath.

4. That the act of 12th Henry the ſeventh, commonly called Poyning's act, and all other acts expounding or explaining the ſame, may be repealed.

5. That as in England there paſt an act for a triennial parliament, there may paſs in Ireland another for a ſexennial parliament.

6. That it may be enacted by parliament, that the act of the 2d of queen Elizabeth in Ireland; and all other acts made againſt catholicks, or the catholic religion, ſince the twentieth year of king Henry the eighth, may be repealed.

7. That the biſhopricks, deanries, and all other ſpiritual promotions of this kingdom, and all frieries and nunneries, may be reſtored to the catholick owners, and likewiſe all impropriations

propriations of tythes, and that the ſcits, ambits and precincts of the religious houſes of the monks, may be reſtored to them; but as to the reſt of their temporal poſſeſſions, it is not deſigned to be taken from the preſent proprietors, but to be left to them until God ſhall otherwiſe incline their own hearts. 1641.

8. That ſuch as are now entitled catholick archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, or other dignitaries in this kingdom by donation of the pope, may, during their lives, enjoy their ſpiritual promotions; with proteſtation nevertheleſs, and other fit clauſes to be laid down for preſervation of his majeſty's rights of patronages, firſt-fruits, and twentieth-parts in manner and quantity, as now his highneſs receives benefit thereby.

9. That all inquiſitions taken ſince the year 1634, to entitle his majeſty to Conaught, Thomond, Ormond, Eliogarty, Kilnemanagh, Duheara, Wicklow and Idvagh, may be vacuated, and their eſtates ſecured, according to his majeſty's late graces.

10. That an act of parliament may paſs here for the ſecuring the ſubjects title to their ſeveral eſtates againſt the crown, upon any title accrewed unto it before 60 years, or under colour or pretext of the preſent commotions.

11. That all plantations made ſince the year 1610 may be avoided by parliament, if the parliament ſhould hold it juſt, and their poſſeſſions reſtored to them or their heirs, from whom the ſame were taken, they nevertheleſs anſwering to the crown the rents and ſervices proportionable, reſerved upon the undertakers.

12. That the tranſportation of all native commodities to all places of the world, in peace

1641. peace with his majeſty, may be free and lawful, his cuſtoms firſt paid, and that the ſtatutes of 10, 11, and 13, of queen Elizabeth, for reſtraining the exportation of native commodies be repealed.

13. That all preferments eccleſiaſtical, civil and martial in this kingdom, that lie in his majeſty's gift, may be conferred on natives of this kingdom only, ſuch as his majeſty ſhall think meet, without any diſtinction for religion, provided always that upon the princes of his blood in England, he may beſtow what places he ſhall think meet.

14. That a marſhal and admiral of this kingdom may be elected in it, to have perpetual ſucceſſion therein with the ſame preheminence, authority and juriſdiction as they reſpectively have in England, and that the ſaid places be ever conferred upon noblemen, natives of this kingdom.

15. That there may be trained bands in all cities, towns corporate, and counties of this kingdom, armed and provided at the charge of the ſeveral counties, cities and towns, and commanded by the natives of the ſame, who ſhall be named by the counties, cities and towns reſpectively.

16. That his majeſty may releaſe all tenures in capite, and by knight-ſervice: in conſideration whereof, he ſhall receive a ſettled revenue of 120001. per annum, being double the ſum which he caſually receives by them; reliefs, ſeiſins, licenſes for alienations, eſcuage and aids nevertheleſs to remain.

17. That all monopolies may be for ever taken away by act of parliament.

18. That ſuch new corporations, as have not the face of corporate towns, and were erected

erected to give voices in the parliament, may be diſſolved, and their votes taken away, and hereafter no ſuch to be admitted to voices in parliament. 1641.

19. That there may be agents choſen in parliament, or othewiſe, as thought meet, to attend continually his majeſty, to repreſent the grievances of this nation, that they may be removeable by ſuch as did elect them; and in caſe of death or removance, others may be for ever ſucceſſively ſubſtituted in that place, and that ſuch agents may enjoy the freedom of their conſcience in court, and every where elſe.

Theſe are the means propoſed by theſe catholick remonſtrants, for reducing of the kingdom to peace; theſe the great obſtructions they would have removed, and the conſtant counſel they would have followed, in ſettling the tranquility and preſent government of this land; ſo as we need ſeek no further evidence, nor make any more curious enquiries into the ſecret cauſes of their firſt riſing: we have here enough out of their own mouths, to reſolve the moſt ſcrupulous unbeliever of their firſt motives to this rebellion. And now for the matter of religion, howſoever I am very confident they ever really intended the re-eſtabliſhment of that of the church of Rome, with all the rites and ceremonies thereof, together with the utter extirpation of all the reformed profeſſion: yet conſidering the large indulgence, and free liberty they univerſally enjoyed at that time, in the full exerciſe of that their religion throughout all the parts of the kingdom; it may be moſt juſtly ſuſpected (how zealouſly ſoever

The re-eſtabliſhment of the Romiſh religion, only a pretence for the rebellion.

1641. ſoever they now obtrude it) that this was only the bare outward coverture made uſe of by the principal undertakers, to draw on a poor ignorant ſuperſtitious people to ſacrifice their lives in this quarrel. Neither can it by any reaſonable man be ever preſumed, that ſuch perſons as made no conſcience of committing treaſon, ſo many cruel murders, and all other kind of abominable villanies, not to be paralleled in any other country, could be drawn meerly out of conſcience towards God, to act theſe for the regaining of the free and publick profeſſion of their religion.

All the grievances of the kingdom redreſſed before the rebellion broke out.

This certainly was no more the true and main cauſe of their taking up arms, than the redreſs of their pretended grievances, whereunto his majeſty had condeſcended, and out of his inclinations for their preſent relief, had given much more ſatisfaction to their agents lately in England, than ever they could expect to receive in any other time, or hope to enjoy. Yet we ſee how little effect thoſe great graces brought over, not above two months before this rebellion broke out, took among them: for preſently after the return of their agents with them, this moſt deteſtable conſpiracy, which had been long in hatching, began to work, and to be put in execution. And if we ſhall conſider their main deſign and chief ends therein, as they appear in their firſt principles, or will give credit to the ſeveral ſpeeches and paſſages that we meet with among the rebels, in the very beginning of their breaking out; as alſo to ſeveral other teſtimonies that have ſince privately fallen from ſome particular perſons among them, we muſt believe that their deſign clearly was to deſtroy and root out all the Britiſh and proteſtants planted

planted within this kingdom, to cut off the ſovereignty of the crown of England, and ſo to deliver themſelves from their long continued ſubjection to the Engliſh nation. 1641.

A conſultation held, whether it will be beſt to murder, or only to baniſh all the Britiſh out of Ireland.

But to come to one main particular, taken into debate by the prime movers and chief incendiaries in this horrid rebellion, they had a moſt ſerious conſultation what courſe to take with moſt ſafety to themſelves, for the diſburthening of the kingdom of thoſe multitudes of Engliſh, which were in very great numbers diſperſedly planted among them. Some were of opinion, that they ſhould ſpare their lives, and not render themſelves guilty of the ſpilling of ſo much innocent blood, but that they ſhould ſeize on their goods, expel them their habitations, and after baniſhing them out of the kingdom, proceed as the Spaniards did with many hundred thouſands of the Moors, whom, as it were in a moment, they cleared out of their dominions. Others there were who much oppoſed this kind of lenity and moderation, remonſtrating the high inconveniencies which would inevitably redound to themſelves thereby. Firſt, that the Britiſh were in ſo great numbers, as they could not either by diſarming, impriſoning, or any other means poſſible, ever hope to ſecure them from miſchief: then, that if they only expelled them out of the kingdom, they would remain ſtill as ſo many fit inſtruments to be entertained in England, and from thence return back full of revengeful thoughts to recover their loſſes; that by their long experience and knowledge in the country, they would be better guides, therefore more deeply engaged to proſecute the war; and having their bodies inured to this climate, would

1641. prove much more able ſoldiers than any new men that could be raiſed, or any otherways brought over. How they determined this particular I ſhall not undertake to declare; my intelligence fails me, and I am able to deliver no more of the reſult of this great council than appears in the bloody effects and horrid executions acted in the firſt beginnings of their rebellion. It is moſt probable they came to no poſitive concluſion, but left the chief actors, in this particular, at large, to do as ſhould ſeem good to themſelves. We find their firſt proceedings and outrages committed upon the Engliſh very various and much differing in ſeveral places, ſome only ſtripping and expelling of them; others murdering man, woman and child without mercy. But this is certain, and of moſt unqueſtionable truth, that by one means or other, they reſolved univerſally to root all the Britiſh and proteſtants out of Ireland. And that theſe were the firſt thoughts and bitter fruits of the long premeditated malicious intentions, ſufficiently appears by their actions, as well as by their virulent expreſſions uttered upon their firſt riſing, when they thought the kingdom was their own. They then ſaid openly, that they meant to deſtroy the Engliſh, and that they had made a covenant no Engliſh man ſhould ſet footing among them. Some of the Iriſh would not endure the very ſound of that language, but would have penalties inflicted upon them that ſpake Engliſh, and all the Engliſh names of places changed into the old Iriſh denominations: others profeſſed that they would not leave an Engliſh man or woman alive in the kingdom, but that all ſhould be gone; no, not ſo much as an Engliſh beaſt,

The Iriſh reſolve to root the Engliſh out of Ireland.

Maſter Creighton in his examination.

beaſt, or any of the breed of them. * James Hallegan the prieſt did read an excommunication in the church, which as he alledged, came from their great Iriſh metropolitan; and terrifying his pariſhioners therewith, he told them, that from that day forth, whoſoever did harbour or † relieve any Scot, Engliſh, or Welſh man, or give them alms at their doors, ſhould be excommunicated, whereby, as Mr. Sacheveril teſtifies in his examination, many were ſtarved and died for want in thoſe parts. We have it from Mr. Creighton, a reverend miniſter, one long detained priſoner within the county of Cavan, that the fryars exhorted the people with tears to ſpare none of the Engliſh; that the Iriſh were reſolved to deſtroy them out of the kingdom; that they would devour (as their very word was) the ſeed of 1641.

* The Iriſh in many places killed Engliſh cows and ſheep meerly becauſe they were Engliſh; in ſome places they cut off their legs, or took a piece out of their buttocks, and ſo let them remain ſtill alive. The lord Montgarret, Mr. Edward Butlar, the baron of Logmouth, went with their forces into Munſter about the beginning of the riſing of the Iriſh there, and while they remained about Callen and Mallow, they conſumed no leſs than fifty thouſand, others ſay an hundred thouſand Engliſh ſheep, beſides a great abundance of Engliſh cattle; and ſuch as they could not eat, yet they killed and left in great multitudes ſtinking, to the great annoyance of the country. This teſtified by Henry Champart, in his examination taken before ſir Robert Meredith, Knight, &c.

† James Shaw, a miniſter depoſeth, that after the ceſſation, divers of the rebels confeſſed the prieſts had given them the ſacrament, upon condition they ſhould not ſpare man, woman nor child that were proteſtants; and that he heard divers of them ſay in a bragging manner, that it did them a great deal of good to waſh their hands in the blood of the proteſtants whom they had ſlain, Jurat, Jan. 7. 1643.

Thomas

1641 the Engliſh out of Ireland; and when they had rid them there, they would go over into England, and not leave the memorial of the Engliſh name under heaven.

And ſo fond and vain were their imaginations, and to ſuch a height of madneſs were they grown, as they could not terminate their thoughts in the reduction of Ireland under the power of their own nation. But as ſoon as they had begun their rebellion there, they ſpake confidently in all places of tranſporting their arms into England, that they would ſend 30000 men over into that kingdom, and that they would draw in foreign auxiliaries thither to join with them; and ſo by a high hand eſtabliſh the free exerciſe of the Romiſh religion within that kingdom. A deſign certainly which the prieſts and jeſuits had taken up in their own thoughts, and by their correſpondencies abroad intended powerfully to bring about, as ſoon as they had ſettled their affairs in Ireland. And if it had not pleaſed God in an extraordinary way to bring the firſt plot to light, and ſo to bleſs the weak endeavours of the ſtate here, as to enable them by the aſſiſtance of thoſe ſmall forces they

Thomas Johnſon, Vicar of Tullah, of the county of Mayo, depoſed, that he heard Stephen Linoh, prior of Strade, being aſked if it were not lawful to kill this deponent becauſe he would not go to maſs; anſwered, that it was as lawful for them to kill him, as to kill a ſheep or a dog: and divers of the rebellious ſoldiers told him to his face, that they would no more care to kill him, than they would do a pig.

John Addis, of the county of Weſtmeath, depoſeth, that Robert Magohagan, prieſt, ſaid to this deponent, that it was no more pity nor conſcience to take Engliſhmens lives or goods from them, than to take a bone out of a dog's mouth. Jurat. July 21, 1642.

they confuſedly gathered together, to hold out till the arrival of the ſuccours ſent out of England; I leave it to every one to conſider with how much advantage they might have gone on at that time towards the accompliſhment of ſo deſperate a próject. And for myſelf, I muſt profeſs that I am clearly reſolved, that had they at firſt over-maſtered the unexpected difficulties and fatal impediments they met withal at home, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the arms and munition within the caſtle of Dublin, and ſo fleſhed and blooded in the ſlaughter of many thouſands of the Engliſh nation, had tranſported a numerous army of Iriſh rebels, and ſuddenly landed them in ſome good port within the kingdom of England: they would have prevailed very far towards the miſerable deſolation and ruin thereof. It muſt be remembered in what a moſt unhappy diſcompoſure the affairs were at that time there; what a diſeaſed body the ſtate then had, and what high diſtempers then ſtrongly working, ſoon after brake out, what a ſtrong party they might have found within, and with what great reputation they would have marched on under the glory of their late victories atchived in Ireland, ſignalizing the power of their arms with ſuch horrid cruelties and bloody butcheries, as would have wrought a ſtrange terrour among the people. 1641.

Thus we ſee what were the cauſes and firſt motives to this unnatural rebellion; as likewiſe who were the chief actors and the great inſtruments deſigned by the firſt plotters to pre-diſpoſe the people to a readineſs to take arms for the rooting out of the Britiſh inhabitants from among them. The preparitives being all made, the plot in all points ripe

1641. for execution, it was carried on to the evening before the day appointed for the taking of the caſtle of Dublin without diſcovery. And tho' it pleaſed God to bring it then to light (as hath been declared) and ſo happily to diſappoint it in the main piece, yet it took in the northern parts, being that very day fully executed in moſt of the chief places of ſtrength within the province of Ulſter. And whereas the prieſts did long before in their publick devotions at maſs pray for a bleſſing upon a great deſign they had then in hand; ſo now, as I have heard, they did in many places, the very day before the breaking out of this rebellion, give the people a diſmiſs at maſs with free liberty to go out, and take poſſeſſion of all their lands, which they pretended, were unjuſtly detained from them by the Engliſh; as alſo to ſtrip, rob, and deſpoil them of all their goods and cattle. They had, without doubt, by one means or other, either private or publick inſtructions, not to leave to the Engliſh any thing that might afford the leaſt comfort or hope of longer ſubſiſtence among them. This was the main bait uſed to draw on the common people; and this wrought far more powerfully than all other perſuaſions, fictions, or wild chimeras that they infuſed into them. It is moſt apparent, that the prime gentlemen in all parts, as well as their clergy, preſſed them on to deſpoil the Engliſh of all their goods and cattle, well knowing their avaricious humour and greedy deſires to get them into their poſſeſſion, and that they could not poſſibly find out any other thing that would engage them more readily to undertake, or more deſperately to execute all manner of villanies, than the hopes of

The Engliſh goods preſented to the Iriſh as a chief means to raiſe them up againſt them.

enjoying

enjoying ſo rich a prey now preſented unto them. 1641.

The people being now ſet at liberty, and prepoſſeſſed by their prieſts with a belief that it was lawful for them to riſe up, and * deſtroy all the proteſtants, who, they told them, were worſe than dogs; that they were devils, and ſerved the devil; aſſuring them the killing of ſuch was a meritorious act, and a rare preſervative againſt the pains of purgatory, gathered themſelves together in great numbers, aſſembling in ſeveral companies through the ſeveral parts of the northern counties, with ſtaves, ſithes, and pitch-forks, for at firſt they had not many better weapons: and ſo in a moſt confuſed manner, they began tumultuouſly to drive away at the firſt, only the cattle belonging to the Engliſh, and then to break into their houſes, and ſeize upon their goods. It is true, there were ſome murders committed the very firſt day of their riſing, and ſome houſes ſet on fire, but theſe as I conceive, were for the moſt part out of private ſpleen, or where they had particular inſtructions ſo to do, as they had from the lord Mac-Guire, to kill maſter Arthur Champion, a juſtice of peace in the county of Fermanagh, who with ſeveral others, his neighbours,

The people made to believe by their prieſts that it was a meritorious act to kill the Engliſh.

The Iriſh riſe and firſt drive away all the cattle belonging to the Engliſh.

* John Barry of Druermoſh, in the county of Armagh, depoſeth, that O Cullan a prieſt, told his auditors at maſs, that the bodies of ſuch as died in this quarrel, ſhould not be cold before their ſouls ſhould aſcend up into heaven, and that they ſhould be free from the pains of purgatory.

Margaret Bromley in her examination depoſeth, that ſome of the rebels would ſay, after their cruel butcheries, that they knew if themſelves ſhould now die, their ſouls ſhould go to heaven, and that they were glad of the revenge they had taken of the Engliſh.

1641. bours, were murdered at his own houſe, upon the 23d of October in the morning. But certainly that which they mainly intended at firſt, and which they moſt buſily employed themſelves about, was the driving away the Engliſh-mens cattle, and poſſeſſing their goods: wherein the common people were not the only actors, but even the chief gentlemen of the Iriſh in many places, moſt notoriouſly appeared, and under plauſible pretences of ſecuring their goods from the rapine and ſpoil of the common ſort, got much peaceably into their hands: and ſo confident were the Engliſh of their good dealing at firſt, as many delivered their goods by retail unto them, gave them particular inventories of all they had, nay digged up ſuch of their beſt things as they had hidden under ground, to depoſite in their cuſtody. Much likewiſe they got by fair promiſes and deep engagements to do them no further miſchief, to ſuffer them, their wives and children quietly to retire and leave the country: but others, and eſpecially the meaner ſort of people, fell more rudely to work, at the very firſt, breaking up of their houſes, and uſing all manner of force and violence, to make themſelves maſters of their goods.

The Iriſh gentlemen poſſeſs themſelves of the goods belonging to the Engliſh. under pretence of ſecuring them.

The next act was to ſtrip the Engliſh, man, woman and child ſtark naked, and to turn them out of their own doors.

And having thus ſeized upon all their goods and cattle, ranſack'd their houſes, gotten their perſons under their power; the next thing they did, was to ſtrip man, woman and child, many of them ſtark naked, and ſo to turn them out of their own doors, not permitting them in ſome places ſo much as to ſhelter themſelves under buſhes, or in the woods, and ſtrictly prohibiting all the Iriſh under great penalties, to give them entertainment,

All manner of relief forbidden to the Engliſh as they paſſed upon the high-ways ſtripped and deſpoiled of all they had.

tertainment, or any kind of relief, as they paſſed on upon the high-ways. And certainly their deſign in this, moſt notoriouſly appears to have been no other than that all ſuch as they would not lay their hands upon, and cruelly murder in cold blood, might miſerably periſh of themſelves through cold, nakedneſs and want; and therefore as faſt as any of them ſo ſtripped got old rags to cover their nakedneſs, they endeavoured to ſtrip them again, and again: as may appear by the examination of John Gourly, who depoſeth, that ſome were ſtripped twice, ſome thrice: as faſt as they could get any old rags to cover their nakedneſs, the next Iriſh woman, or even the children that met them would take them off: and he and his wife further depoſe, that when their houſe, together with the town of Armagh were ſet on fire by the rebels, ſhe was ſtripped of her clothes ſeven ſeveral times after ſhe got other clothes; and at length, they left her not ſo much as her ſmock or hair-lace; and that ſhe got to a place and hid herſelf in a hutch for three or four days, and after went to find out her children, two of which had the ſmall-pox viſibly upon them. Jurat. Nov. 8th, 1642. 1641.

The manner of ſtripping the Engliſh.

How infallibly this courſe ſucceeded, and how ſurely they compaſſed their deviliſh ends hereby, is but too well known: the Engliſh leaving ſufficient monuments in the high-ways as they paſſed, as well as in the towns wherein they arrived, of the diſmal mortality it bred among them. And for the fuller ſatisfaction of any one who ſhall doubt thereof, I have thought fit to inſert theſe two enſuing examinations.

The miſeries and mortality it brought among them.

James

1641. James Redfern, of the county of Londonderry, depoſeth, That in the town of Colerain, ſince the rebellion began, there died of robbed and ſtripped people that fled thither for ſuccour, many hundreds, beſides thoſe of the town who had anciently dwelt there, and that the mortality there was ſuch, and ſo great, as many thouſands died there in two days, and that the living, though ſcarce able to do it, laid the carcaſes of thoſe dead perſons in great ranks, into vaſt and wide holes, laying them ſo cloſe and thick, as if they had packed up herrings together.

Magdalen Redman, late of the Dowris, in the King's-County, widow, being ſworn and examined, depoſeth and ſaith, That ſhe, this deponent, and divers others proteſtants, her neighbours, and amongſt the reſt, twenty-two widows, after they were all robbed, were alſo ſtrip'd ſtark naked, and then they covering themſelves in a houſe with ſtraw, the rebels then and there lighted the ſtraw with fire, and threw it amongſt them, on purpoſe to burn them; where they had been burned or ſmothered, but that ſome of the rebels, more pitiful than the reſt, commanded theſe cruel rebels to forbear, ſo as they eſcaped: yet the rebels kept and drove them naked into the wild woods, from Tueſday until Saturday in froſt and ſnow, ſo as the ſnow unmelted, lay long upon ſome of their ſkins, and ſome of their children died in their arms: and when, as the deponent and the reſt endeavoured to have gone away for refuge to the Burre, the cruel rebels turned them again, ſaying, they ſhould go towards Dublin; and when they endeavoured to go towards Dublin, they hindered them again, and ſaid, they ſhould

ſhould go to the Burre; and ſo toſſed them to and fro: yet, at length, ſuch of thoſe poor ſtripped people as died not before they got away out of the hands of the rebels, eſcaped to the Burre, where they were harboured and relieved by one William Parſons, eſq; and yet there died at the Burre of thoſe ſtrip'd perſons, about forty men, women and children. And this deponent, and thoſe other ſtrip'd people that ſurvived, lived miſerably at the Burre aforeſaid, until they, with the reſt, had quarter to come from thence to Dublin. 1641.

Jur. 7 March, 1642.

John Watſon,
William Aldrich.

Iſabel, the relict of Chriſtopher Porter, late of Dowris, in the King's-County, ſworn and examined, depoſeth and ſaith, in all the particulars above-mentioned, as Magdalen Redman, before examined, being her neighbour.

Some

1641.

Some of the moſt notorious Cruelties, and barbarous Murders, committed by the Iriſh Rebels, atteſted upon oath, as they appear in ſeveral examinations here annexed.

A particular enumeration of ſeveral bloody maſſacres and horrid cruelties, exerciſed upon the Britiſh, all teſtified upon oath, and taken out of ſeveral examinations, which are inſerted in the notes.

WE may in theſe poor ſouls, as it were, in large characters, behold the miſeries of all thoſe multitudes of men, women and children, that were in all parts of the kingdom thus inhumanly ſtrip'd, and ſo expoſed to the ſame want, cold, and nakedneſs. The mercies of the wicked are cruel: how bitter was their compaſſion to all thoſe Britiſh that thus ſuffered? how horrid, barbarous, and inſupportable was the commiſeration they thus expreſſed towards them? yet theſe were, as they told them at firſt, but the beginnings of their ſorrows: for when the northern rebels began to find their own ſtrength, and that partly by treachery, partly by force, they had poſſeſſed themſelves of all the chief places of ſtrength in Ulſter, diſarmed the Engliſh, robbed them of their goods and cattle, ſtripped them of their clothes, and had their perſons now under their power, and all this without any conſiderable reſiſtance made by them; then they could contain themſelves no longer, but in a moſt fierce outragious manner, furiouſly broke out, acting in all places of that province, with moſt abominable cruelty, thoſe horrid maſſacres and execrable murders, as would make any chriſtian ear to tingle at the ſad commemoration of them: then they began to appear in their own colours, and with great delight to ſatiate their ancient implacable malice, in their long wiſhed

ed and often plotted deſtruction of all the Britiſh inhabitants. Within the county of Fermanagh, multitudes were preſently killed in cold blood, ſome taken at the plough, others as they ſate peaceably in their own houſes, others travelling upon the ways, all without any manner of provocation by them given, ſuddenly ſurpriſed and unexpectedly cut off. At the caſtle of * Liſgool, within that county, above one hundred and fifty men, women and children almoſt all conſumed by fire. At the caſtle of † Moneah, near one hundred Britiſh there ſlain all together: and the ſame bloody company of rebels were no ſooner admitted into the caſtle of ‡ Tullah, which was delivered up into the hands of Rourry Mac-Guire, upon compoſition, and faithful promiſes of fair quarter, but that within the very court they began to ſtrip the people, and moſt cruelly put them to the ſword,

1641.

Multitudes killed in cold blood.

* Thomas Wenſlaw and John Simſon, of the county of Fermanagh, gentlemen, depoſe and ſay, That in the caſtle of Liſgool, there were one hundred and fifty-two men, women and children burnt, or ſmothered, when the ſaid caſtle was ſet on fire; not above two or three eſcaped, as appears in their examination. Jurat. Jan. 12, Anno Dom. 1641.

† Thomas Wenſlaw further depoſeth, That at the caſtle of Moneah, there were ninety proteſtants more ſlain and murthered: and that from the caſtle of Moneah, the rebels marched to the caſtle of Tullah, where, by their own confeſſion, they promiſed thoſe proteſtants that were there fair quarters: but when they had delivered up their arms and the caſtle, thoſe rebels in the bawn of the caſtle, firſt ſtripped them all of their cloathes, and then, and there moſt cruelly murdered them.

‡ Richard Bourk, batchelor in divinity, of the county of Fermanagh, depoſeth, That he heard and verily believeth the burning and killing of one hundred at leaſt in the caſtle of Tullah, and that the ſame was done after fair quarter promiſed. Jurat. July 12, 1643.

1641. ſword, murdering them all without mercy. * At Liſſenſkeah they hanged, or otherwiſe killed, above one hundred perſons, móſt of them of the Scotiſh nation; for after once they had the Engliſh in their power, they ſpared none of them, but uſed all the Scots with as much cruelty as they did the Engliſh. This county was very well planted by the Britiſh undertakers, and all of them and their tenants in a very ſhort ſpace after, were, in a moſt horrible manner quite deſtroyed, or utterly baniſhed from their habitations. In the counties of Armagh and Tyrone, where the Britiſh were much more numerous, and Sir Phelim O Neal, and his brother Turlagh O Neal, the principal actors, the murders of the Britiſh, were much more multiplied and committed with greater cruelty, if it were poſſible, than in any other places.

There were † one thouſand men, women and children, carried out at ſeveral times in ſeveral

* Roury Mac-Gwire, upon the 24th of October 1641, came with his company unto Liſſenſkeah, and deſired, in a friendly manner, to ſpeak with Mr. Midleton, who had the keeping of the caſtle. The firſt thing he did, as ſoon as he was entered therein, was to burn the records of the county, whereof Mr. Midleton was the keeper, being clerk of the peace, which he forced him to deliver unto him; as likewiſe one thouſand pounds he had in his hands of ſir William Balfour's; which, as ſoon as he had, he compelled the ſaid Midleton to hear maſs, ſwear never to alter from it, and immediately after cauſed him, his wife and his children to be hanged up, and hanged and murdered one hundred perſons beſides, at leaſt, in that town. Theſe particulars, and ſeveral other, ſet down at large in a relation ſent me by ſir John Dunbar, knight, one of the juſtices of peace within the county of Fermanagh.

† One thouſand men, women and children were drowned in one place. This number is depoſed in Dr. Maxwell's examination, taken the 22d of Auguſt, 1642.

ſeveral troops, and all unmercifully drowned at the bridge of Portnedown, which was broken down in the midſt, and ſo driving and forcing them on, threw them into the river. And as other relations give it in, * four thouſand perſons were drowned within the ſeveral parts of that county. † The rebels in a moſt barbarous manner drove on many of thoſe miſerable ſtripped chriſtians unto the place of their ſufferings like ſwine; and if any were ſlack in their pace, they ſometimes pricked them forwards with their ſwords and pikes, often haſtning on the reſt either by killing or wounding ſome of their fellows in the way. 1641.

‡ Other companies they carried out under pretence of giving them ſafe conduct out of the

* This number of ſo many perſons drowned within the county of Armagh, is depoſed by Thomas Green, and Elizabeth his wife, as appears by their examinations, taken November 10, 1643.

† William Clerk, of the county of Armagh, tanner, ſaith, that he with one hundred men, women and children, or thereabout, were by the rebels driven like hogs about ſix miles, to a river called the Band: in which ſpace the foreſaid chriſtians were moſt barbarouſly uſed, by forcing them to go faſt by ſwords and pikes, thruſting them into their ſides, and they murdered three by the way, and the reſt they drove to the river aforeſaid, and there forced them to go upon the bridge, which was cut down, and with their pikes and ſwords, and other weapons, thruſt them down headlong into the ſaid river, and immediately they periſhed; and thoſe who aſſumed to ſwim to the ſhoar, the rebels ſtood and ſhot at. Jurat, Jan. 7, 1641.

Mary, the wife of Ralph Corn, depoſeth, that one hundred and eighty Engliſh were taken by the Iriſh, and driven like cattle from Caſtle-Cumber to Athy.

‡ Elizabeth, the wife of captain Rue Price of the town and county of Armagh, depoſeth that five of her children

1641. the country, and ſo got them to go chearfully on by vertue of ſir Phelim O Neal's paſs, until they came at ſome place fit for their execution. * And if they drowned them, then they had ſome prepared to ſhoot or knock down with poles any ſuch as could ſwim, or uſed any other means to eſcape out of the water. † Amongſt many others, a gentlewoman, whoſe name was Cambell, being forcibly brought by them to the river, and ſhe finding no means to eſcape their fury, ſuddenly claſped her arms about one of the chief rebels that was moſt forward to thruſt her into the water; and, as I find it credibly related upon oath, carried him to the bottom with

children, together with one hundred and ten other proteſtants, out of the pariſhes of Armagh, Laughal, and other places, were ſent away with paſſes from ſir Phelim O Neal, with promiſe to be ſafely conveyed over to their friends in England: that their conductor was captain Manus O Cane and his ſoldiers, who having brought, or rather driven them like ſheep or beaſts to the bridge of Portnedown, there forced or threw all thoſe poor priſoners into the water, together with the deponent's five children, and then and there drowned moſt of them.

* And thoſe who could ſwim and come to the ſhoar, they either knocked them on the head, and ſo after drowned them, or elſe ſhot them to death in the water. Jurat. Jan. 29, 1641.

Chriſtian Stanhaw, the relict of Henry Stanhaw, of the pariſh of Laughal, in the county of Armagh, depoſeth, that upon the drowning of one hundred and forty proteſtants one time at Portnedown-bridge, after they had thrown them in, ſome of them ſwimming to the ſhoar, the rebels with their muſkets knocked out their brains. Jurat. July 23, 1642.

† James Shaw, of Market-Hill, in the county of Armagh, depoſeth the manner of miſtreſs Cambell's pulling the rebel into the water, and how he was drowned with her. Jurat. Aug. 14, 1642.

with her, and ſo they were both drowned together. * The cathedral church and town of Armagh were burnt, many towns laid waſte, all the fair plantations made by the Britiſh left deſolate; in ſome pariſhes † two hundred families murdered and deſtroyed, the whole country, as it were a common butchery; and thorough all parts of it very many thouſands periſhed in a ſhort time by ſword, famine, fire, water, and all other manner of cruel deaths, that rage and malice could invent. 1641.

But before I leave this ſubject, I ſhall paſs a little further, and out of ſome examinations

* Captain Parkin depoſeth, that ſir Phelim O Neal flying from Dundalk, went to Armagh, where he began his bloody maſſacres, cauſing Manus O Cane to get together all the proteſtants which were left thereabouts, to conduct them to Colerain; but before they were ſcarce a day's journey from him, they were all murdered; and ſo were ſeveral others by ſpecial direction from ſir Phelim O Neal, and his brother Turlagh, notwithſtanding they were protected by them. All the aged people in Armagh were by the ſame directions carried away, but murdered alſo at Charlemount. And preſently after, his brother and he, with their adherents, maliciouſly ſet on fire the goodly cathedral church of Armagh, and town of Armagh, and murdered and drowned there five hundred perſons, young and old. At the pariſh of Killaman, forty eight families were then murdered by directions from ſir Phelim O Neal, who had remained protected by him three quarters of a year. Jurat. March 8. 1643.

† Jane Grace, the wife of Nicholas Grace, late of Kilmore, in the county of Armagh, depoſeth, that there were two and twenty Engliſh proteſtants burned in one houſe, within two miles of Kilmore; and that the rebels ſtripped, killed, or murthered all, or moſt of the Engliſh of that pariſh, which conſiſted of two hundred families. That they ſet many in the ſtocks until they confeſſed their money, and when they could get no more, that then they murdered them.

1642

Some horrid inhuman cruelties exerciſed on particular perſons.

ons (taken here upon oath, which I have peruſed) preſent a brief collection of ſome other horrid inhuman cruelties, which I find were uſed in the murdering of many poor innocent ſouls. To many, theſe bloody villains ſhewed ſo much favour, as ſuddenly to diſpatch them out of their pain, by no means allowing them leave, or ‡ time to ſay their prayers; for others, they held a ſudden death too eaſy a puniſhment: therefore they impriſoned * ſome in moſt beaſtly Dungeons, full of dirt and mire, and there clapping bolts on their heels, ſuffered them to periſh at leiſure; others they barbarouſly † mangled, and left languiſhing

‡ Edward Saltinglaſs, of the county of Armagh, gent. depoſeth, and ſaith, that George Lawlis, a rebel, of the ſaid county, reſolving to kill John Cowder, told him he would kill him, but bid him firſt ſay his prayers; whereupon the ſaid Cowder kneeling down to pray, the ſaid Lawlis inſtantly cut off his head as he was upon his knees. Jurat. June 1, 1642.

Elizabeth Price depoſeth, that when as divers of the Engliſh were about to be murdered, and deſired the rebels on their knees firſt to admit them to make their prayers to God; the rebels have often, in her, the deponent's hearing, in Iriſh, anſwered and ſaid, "bequeath your ſoul to the devil;" and at other times the rebels would ſay, "why ſhould you pray, your ſoul is with the devil already?" And with thoſe words in their mouths would ſlaughter and put them to death. Jurat. ut ſupra.

* Edward Banks of Caſhel, in the county of Tipperary, clerk, depoſeth, that the rebels there, on the firſt day of January, killed fifteen men and women, all Engliſh proteſtants, at Caſhel, and that they entered and took the town; and having the ſame, that they took this deponent, and other clergymen, and then and there forthwith cauſed them to be put in the dugeon, where they continued twelve weeks in moſt miſerable ſlavery. Jurat. April 21, 1642.

† John Cregg, in the county of Armagh, yeoman, depoſeth, that in the pariſh of Levilegiſh, there were divers

languiſhing upon the high-ways, crying out but for ſo much mercy as to be delivered out of their pain. 1641.

Others they buried * alive, a manner of death they uſed to ſeveral Britiſh in ſeveral places: And † at Clownis, within the county of Fermanagh, there were ſeventeen perſons having been hanged till they were half dead, caſt together into a pit, and being covered over with a little earth, lay pitifully, ſending

vers Engliſh men cruelly murdered; ſome twice, ſome thrice hanged up, and others wounded and left half dead, crying out lamentably for ſome to come and end their miſeries by killing of them. Jurat. Jan. 7, 1641.

* William Parkinſon of Caſtle-cumber, in the county of Kilkenny, gent. depoſeth, that by the credible report both of Engliſh and ſome Iriſh, who affirmed they were eye-witneſſes, a bloody murder was committed near Kilfeal in the queen's county, upon an Engliſhman, his wife, four or five children, and a maid, all which were hanged, by the command of ſir Morgan Cavanagh and Robert Harpool, and afterwards put all in one hole, the youngeſt child being not fully dead, put out the head and cried mammy, mammy, when without mercy they buried him alive. Jurat. Feb. 11, 1642.

Elizabeth Price depoſeth, that Thomas Maſon, an Engliſh proteſtant of Langal, being extreamly beaten and wounded, was carried away by his wife and ſome others; for revenge of which, the rebels moſt cruelly hacked, flaſhed and wounded them; and that done, dragged the ſaid Maſon unto a hole, and then and there threw earth, ſtones and rubbiſh upon him, and with the weight thereof kept him under, ſo as the ſaid Maſon's wife told this deponent, he cried out and languiſhed, till his own wife, to put him out of his pain, rather than hear him cry ſtill, tied her handkerchief over his mouth, and therewith ſtopped his breath, ſo as he died. Jurat. June 19, 1641.

†. This particular, concerning the ſeventeen men buried alive at Clownis, was teſtified unto me by Mrs. Aldrich, who was then kept priſoner in the town by the rebels, and heard their pitiful cries.

1641. out moſt lamentable groans for a good time after. * Some were deadly wounded and ſo hanged upon tentorhooks. ‡ Some had robes about their necks, and ſo drawn through the water; ſome had withes, and ſo drawn up and down thorough woods and bogs; other were hanged up and taken down, and hanged up again ſeveral times, and all to make them confeſs their money, which as ſoon as they

* William Parkinſon, late of Caſtle-cumber, in the county of Kilkenny, depoſeth, that he ſaw Lewis O Brenan, with his ſword drawn in the ſaid town, purſue after an Egliſh boy of eight or nine years of age, or thereabouts, by name Richard Bernet, into an houſe, and ſaw the ſaid Lewis laid the ſaid boy forth of the houſe, the blood running about his ears, in a hair-rope, and led the boy to his father's tentors, and there hanged him with John Banks another little boy. Jurat. ut ſupra.

‡ Edward Saltingſtone of the county of Armagh, gent. depoſeth, that Manus O Cane, Bryan O Kelly, Shane O Neil, Neil Oge O Neil, gent. did take William Blundel of Grange, in the county of Armagh, yeoman, and put a rope about his neck, and threw him into the Blackwater at Charlemount, and drew him up and down the water to make him confeſs his money, who thereupon gave them twenty-one pounds, yet within three weeks after, he, his wife, and ſeven children were drowned by the rebels. And further ſaith, that Samuel Law of Grenan, in the pariſh of Armagh, was by the ſaid Neil Oge O Neil and others, brought to a wood, and that then, they there put a withe about his neck, and ſo drew him up and down by the neck, until he was glad to promiſe them ten pounds. Jurat. ut ſupra.

Margaret Fermeny, in the county of Fermanagh, depoſeth, that the rebels bound her and her huſband's hands behind them, to make them confeſs their money, and dragged them up and down in a rope, and cut his throat in her own ſight with a ſkein, having firſt knocked him down, and ſtripped him, and that being an aged woman ſeventy-five years old, as ſhe came up afterwards to Dublin, ſhe was ſtripped by the Iriſh ſeven times in one day, the rebels bidding them go and look for their God, and bid him give them cloths. Jurat.

they had told, they then diſpatched them out of the way. * Others were hanged up by the arms, and with many ſlaſhes and cuts they made the experiment with their ſwords how many blows an Engliſhman would endure before he died. Some had their † bellies ript up, and ſo left with their guts running about their heels. But this horrid kind of cruelty was principally reſerved by theſe inhuman monſters for ‡ women, whoſe ſex they neither pitied nor ſpared, hanging up ſeveral women, 1642.

* Edward Wilſon of the county of Monaghan, depoſeth, that among other cruelties uſed by the rebels to the Engliſh, they hung up ſome by the arms, and then hacked them with their ſwords, to ſee how many blows they could endure before they died. Jurat.

† Anne the wife of Mervin Madſley, late of the city of Kilkenny, gent. ſworn and examined, depoſeth, that ſome of the rebels in Kilkenny, aforeſaid, ſtruck and beat a poor Engliſh-woman until ſhe was forced into a ditch, where ſhe died, thoſe barbarous rebels having firſt ripp'd up her child, of about ſix years of age, and let her guts run about her heels. Jurat.

James Geare of the county of Monaghan, depoſeth, that the rebels at Clownis murdered one James Netterville, proctor to the miniſter there, who although he was diverſly wounded, his belly ripp'd up, and his entrails taken out and laid above a yard from him, yet he bled not at all, untill they lifted him up and carried him away; at which this deponent being an eye-witneſs, much wondered; and thus barbarouſly they uſed him after they had drawn him to go to maſs with them. Jurat. April 6, 1642.

‡ Owen Frankland of the city of Dublin, depoſeth, that Michael Garray told this deponent, that there was a Scotchman, who being driven by the rebels out of the Newry, and knocked on the head by the Iriſh, recovered himſelf, and came again into the town naked: whereupon the rebels carried him and his wife out of the town, cut him all to pieces, and with a ſkein ripp'd his wife's belly, ſo as a child dropp'd out of her womb. Jurat. July 23, 1642.

1641. many of them great with child, whoſe * bellies they ripp'd up as they hung, and ſo let the little infants fall out; a courſe they ordinarily took with ſuch as they found in that ſad condition. † And ſometimes they gave their children to Swine; § ſome the dogs eat; and ſome taken ‡ alive out of their mothers bellies, they caſt into ditches. And for ſucking children

* At Ballimcolough, within four miles of the city of Roſs, in April 1642. John Stone of the Graige, his ſon, his two ſons-in-law, and his two daughters, were hanged; one of his daughters being great with child, her belly was ripp'd up, her child taken forth, and ſuch barbarous beaſtly actions uſed to her, as are not fit to be mentioned.

† Philip Taylor, late of Portnedown, depoſeth, that the rebels killed a Dyer's wife of Roſs-trever, at the Newry, and ripped up her belly, ſhe being great with child of two children, and threw her and her children into a ditch, and that he this deponent drove away Swine from eating one of her children. Jurat.

§ John Montgomery of the county of Monaghan, ſworn and examineth, ſaith, that one Brian Mac-Erony, ringleader, of the rebels in the county of Fermanagh, killed Enſign Floyd, Robert Worcnum, and four of their ſervants, one of which they having wounded, though not to death, they buried quick. As alſo, that he was credibly informed, that the daughter-in-law of one Foard in the pariſh of Clowniſh, being delivered of a child in the fields, the rebels, who had formerly killed her huſband and father, killed her and two of her children, and ſuffered the dogs to eat up and devour her new-born child. Jurat. June 26, 1642.

‡ Katherine, the relict of William Coke, of the county of Armagh, carpenter, depoſeth, that the rebels of the ſaid county robbed, ſtripped and murdered a great company of proteſtants, ſome by burning, ſome by the ſword, ſome by hanging, and the reſt by ſtarving, and other deaths. And this deponent to ſhun their rage, and ſave her poor life, hid herſelf in a ditch of water, and ſat there among high ruſhes ſo long, as that ſhe was almoſt frozen and ſtarved to death, and then crawled away ſecretly. And further ſaith, that ſome of the rebels that eſcaped

children, and others of a riper age, ſome * had their brains knock'd out; others † were trampled under foot to death; ‡ ſome they 1641.

eſcaped and fled from the battle of Liſnagarvey, meeting one Mrs. Howard and Mrs. Frankland, both great with child, and ſix of their children with them, thoſe rebels then and there with their pikes killed and murdered them all, and after ripped open the gentlewomens bellies, took out their children, the one of them being quick and threw them into a ditch, in the ſight of Jane this deponent's daughter; who eſcaped becauſe ſhe ſpoke Iriſh, and ſaid ſhe was an Iriſh woman. Jurat. Febr. 24, 1643.

* James Stevenſon, clerk of the county of Leitrim, depoſeth, that the rebels there took Iſabel Stevenſon, a young child, left at Foſtering, with one Hugh Mac Arran, and enquiring whoſe child it was, they told him it was a Scotiſh-man's child, whereupon they took the child by the heels, and run and beat the brains of it out againſt a tree. Jurat. April 20, 1643.

† Anne Hill, wife of Arthur Hill, in the county of Catherlaugh, depoſeth, that as ſhe paſſed through the county of Wicklow, William the plaiſterer, with nine or ten rebels more, pulled off her back a young child of one year and a quarter old, threw it on the ground, trod on it that it died, ſtripped herſelf and four ſmall children, who by the cold they thereby got, ſince died. Jurat.

‡ John Stubs of the county of Longford, gent. depoſeth, that he heard by ſome of the ſheriffs men, that Henry Mead and his wife, John Bigel, William Stell, and Daniel Stubs the deponent's brother, were put to death by Liſagh Farrols, and Oli. Fitz-Gerralds men, who hanged them upon a wind-mill, and when they were half dead, they cut them to pieces with their ſkeins. Jurat. Novemb. 21, 1641.

El. Price depoſeth, that a great number of poor proteſtants, eſpecially of women and children, they pricked and ſtabbed with their ſkeins, pitchforks and ſwords, and would ſlaſh, mangle and cut them in their heads, breaſts, faces, arms, and other parts of the body, but not kill them out-right, but leave them wallowing in their blood, to languiſh, ſtarve, and pine to death; and whereas thoſe ſo mangled deſired them to kill them out of their pain, they would deny it; but ſometimes after a day or two,

1641. cut in gobbets and pieces, * others they rip'd up alive; † ſome were found in the fields, ſucking the breaſts of their murder'd mothers; others lay ſtifled in vaults and cellars; others ‡ ſtarved in caves, crying out to their mothers

two, they would daſh out their brains with ſtones, or by ſome other cruel way, which they accounted done as a favour, of which ſhe hath in many particulars been an eye-witneſs. Jurat. June 29, 1642.

* William Parkinſon of Kilkenny eſq; depoſeth, that the wife of John Harvey told him, that ſhe being at Kilkenny, and having there turned to maſs to ſave her life, was notwithſtanding ſtripped again, together with her children, and one Purcell a butcher after he had ſtripped her daughter of five years of age, ripped up her body till her intrails fell out, whereof ſhe died that night; whereof ſhe complaining to the major of Kilkenny, he bid away with her and diſpatch her, ſo as not only the butcher, but many others did beat and wound her, ſo as ſhe hardly eſcaped with her life. Jurat. July 2, 1642.

† Elizabeth Champion late wife of Arthur Champion in the county of Fermanagh eſq; depoſeth, that when the caſtle of Liſgool was ſet on fire by the rebels, a woman leaping out of a window to ſave herſelf from burning, was murdered by the rebels; and next morning her child was found ſucking her breaſt, and alſo murdered by them. Jurat. April 26, 1642.

Charity Chappel, late wife of Richard Chappel Eſq; of the town and county of Armagh, depoſeth, that as ſhe hath credibly heard, the rebels murdered great numbers of proteſtants, and that many children were ſeen lying murder'd in vaults and cellars, whither they fled to hide themſelves. Jurat. July 2, 1642.

Thomas Fleetwood, late curate of Killbeggan in the county of Weſt-meath, depoſeth, that he hath heard from the mouth of the rebels themſelves of great cruelties acted by them: and for one inſtance, that they ſtab'd the mother, one Jane Addis by name, and left her little ſucking child, not a quarter old, by the dead corps; and then they put the breaſt of its dead mother into its mouth, and bid it ſuck, Engliſh-baſtard, and ſo left it there to periſh. Jurat. March 22, 1642.

‡ Mary Barlow, depoſeth, that her huſband being by the

mothers rather to ſend them out to be killed by the rebels, than to ſuffer them to ſtarve there. 1641.

Multitudes of * men, women and children, were found drowned, caſt into ditches, boggs and turf-pits; the ordinary ſepulchres of the Britiſh nation. Thouſands died of cold and want in all parts of the country, being neither permitted to depart, nor relieved where they were enforced to ſtay. † Multitudes encloſed in houſes, which being ſet on fire, they were

the rebels hanged before her face, ſhe and ſix children were ſtripped ſtark naked, and turned out a begging in froſt and ſnow, by means whereof they were almoſt ſtarved, having nothing to eat in three weeks, while they lay in a cave, but two old calf-ſkins, which they beat with ſtones, and ſo eat them, hair and all; her children crying out unto her, rather to go out and be killed by the rebels, than to ſtarve there. Jurat.

* John Duffield, of the county of Armagh, Gent. depoſeth, that the rebels wounded John Ward and Richard Duffield, ſo as they thereof died, and that their wives and the ſaid John's ſix children, being all ſtript, died of want and cold. And further ſaith, that many thouſands of proteſtants, men, women, and children, being ſtripped of their cloaths, died alſo of cold and want in ſeveral parts of the country. Jurat. Aug. 9, 1642.

† Jane the wife of Gabriel Conſtable, late of Drumcad in the county of Armagh, gent. ſworn and examined, ſaith, that her huſband and his mother about 88 years old, and his brother, being murdered by the rebels in the pariſh of Kilmore, that a great number of proteſtants were about Candlemas 1641. by the means and inſtigation of Joan Hemſkin, formerly a proteſtant, but a meer Iriſh woman, and lately turned to maſs, and of divers other her aſſiſtants, forced and thruſt into a thatched houſe within the pariſh of Kilmore, and then and there, the proteſtants being almoſt naked, covered with the rags only, the ſame houſe was by that bloody woman and her barbarous aſſiſtants, ſet on fire in ſeveral parts thereof, the poor

1641. were there moſt miſerably conſumed. * Some dragged out of their ſick beds to the place of execution; † children, enforced to carry their aged parents to the places deſigned for their ſlaughter; ‡ nay, ſome children compelled moſt

poor impriſoned parties (who were by armed parties kept there locked in) were miſerably burned to death, and at length the houſe fell upon them; and the combuſtible part of the houſe being conſumed before the bodies of all thoſe miſerable wretches were burned to aſhes, the bodies of many of them lay there in holes, to the great terror of the beholders that were proteſtants, three only eſcaped out of a hole of the houſe, and the reſt that attempted to eſcape the flames, where then and there forced and thrown in again, and ſo burned to death. Jurat. June 16, 1642.

*. Katharine Madeſon of the county of Fermanagh, depoſeth, that they drew ſome lying ſick of fevers, out of their beds, and hanged them; and that they drove before them of men, women and children to the number of ſixteen, and drowned them in a boggy-pit, knocking ſuch on the head with poles, as endeavoured to get out.

† Thomas Green in the pariſh of Dumcres in the county of Armagh, yeoman, and Elizabeth his wife, ſworn and examined, ſaith, that the deponent Thomas Green hardly eſcaped away with his life, but that the other deponent and ſix children were all left among the rebels, and ſo ſtripped of their clothes, and hunger-ſtarved, that five of the children dyed, and ſhe this deponent being put to beg among the mercileſs rebels, was at length reſcued from them by the Scottiſh army: ſhe further ſaith, that the rebels did drown in a bog, ſeventeen men, women and children, at one time within the ſaid pariſh; and ſhe is verily perſwaded that the rebels at ſeveral times and places within the county of Armagh, drowned above 4000 proteſtants, enforcing the ſons and daughters of thoſe very aged people, who were not able to go themſelves, to take them out of their beds and houſes, and carry them to drowning, eſpecially in the river of Toll, in the pariſh of Loghall. Jurat. November 10, 1643.

‡ John Rutledge depoſeth, that ſuch were the barbarous and inhumane cruelties of the rebels, that ſometimes they

moſt unnaturally to be the executioners of their own parents; wives to help to hang their huſbands, * mothers to caſt their own children into the water; and yet after theſe enforced acts, which no doubt were performed out of hopes and aſſurance to have their own lives ſaved, always murdered. And ſuch was the malice and moſt deteſtable hatred born to the Engliſh by the Iriſh, as they taught their † children to kill Engliſh children, 1641.

they enforced the wife to kill the huſband, the ſon to kill the father, and the daughter to kill the mother, and then they would hang or put to death the laſt blood-ſhedder. He further ſaith that of his knowledge the rebels in the town of Slego, forced one Lewis the younger to kill his father, and then hanged the ſon; and in Mogne, in the county of Mayo, the rebels forced one Simon Leper's wife to kill her huſband, and then cauſed her ſon to kill her, and then they hanged the ſon.

* This is depoſed in Mr. Goldſmith's examination, which is ſet forth at large in the pages following.

† Anne Read, the relict of Helchiah Read, of the county of Letrim, depoſeth, that ſhe being ſtripped of all ſhe had, ſome of her children died of want and famine, and that one of her ſons called Stephen Read, being about ſix years of age, was about the 10th of February, 1641, in the houſe of James Gray of the county of Cavan, and going forth to play, there then gathered about him ſix Iriſh children of that town, who ſuddenly fell upon him, and in ſuch a manner that ſome with ſticks, and ſome with ſtones, put out his eyes and bruiſed his body extreamly, ſo that he by means of thoſe children (which were none of them, as ſhe is perſwaded above eight years of age) not long after died, and had been killed out-right in the place, had not an Engliſh woman come thither, who took up the dying child from them, ſaying, ſhe wondered they could find in their hearts ſo to deal with a poor child; but they anſwered, they would do as much for her if they were able. Jurat. July 12, 1641.

1641. dren, and the * Iriſh women did naturally expreſs as much cruelty as the chiefeſt rebels among them.

If theſe be not ſufficient, let us over-look the particular ends of ſome particular perſons, and we ſhall yet in them behold more horrid cruelties than theſe before-mentioned. What † ſhall we ſay to a child boiled to death in a cauldron, a ‡ woman hanged on a tree, and in

* Dennis Kelly of the county of Meath, depoſeth, that Garret Tallon of Cruiſetown in the ſaid county, gent. (as is commonly reported) hired two men to kill Ann Hagely, wife to Edward Tallon his ſon, a papiſt, and at that time abſent from home; and the ſaid two men did in a moſt bloody manner, with ſkeins kill the ſaid Ann Hagely and her daughter, and her daughter's two children, becauſe they would not conſent to go to maſs; and after they would not permit them to be buried in a church or church-yard, but they four were buried in a ditch. Jurat. Auguſt 23, 1643.

John Griſſel of the Queen's county, depoſeth, that the women and children in thoſe parts, were as cruel and forward as the men rebels, the children though young being very bold in their robberies, biding this deponent and the reſt of the Engliſh be gone, or elſe they ſhould be hanged.

Elizabeth Baſkervile, depoſeth, that ſhe heard the wife of Florence Fitz-Patrick find much fault with her huſband's ſoldiers, becauſe they did not bring along with them the greaſe of Mrs. Nicholſon, whom they had ſlain, for her to make candles withal. Jurat. April 26, 1643.

Martha Culm, depoſeth, that ſhe heard ſome of the Iriſh themſelves deteſt the cruelty of the women who followed their camp, and put them on in cruelty, ſaying, ſpare neither man, woman, nor child. Jurat.

† This particular depoſed by Margaret Parkin, as alſo by Elizabeth Burſel, who ſaith, that the child was of twelve years of age, being the child of Thomas Straton, of Newtown. Jurat. Jan. 9, 1641.

‡ The wife of Jonathan Linn and his daughter, were ſeized upon by the rebels near the town of Catherlagh, carried by them into a little wood, called Stapletown-wood,

in the hair of her head her own daughter hanged up with her; * a woman miſerably rent and tore to pieces; † ſome taken by the rebels, their eyes plucked out, their hands cut off, and ſo turned out to wander up and down; ‡ others ſtoned to death; § a man wounded and ſet upright in a hole digged in the 1642.

wood, and there the mother was hanged, and the daughter hanged in the hair of her mother's head, as is depoſed by James Shaw, vicar of old Laughlin, Jan. 8, 1643.

* Adam Clover depoſed, that he ſaw upon the highway a woman left by the rebels, ſtripped to her ſmock, ſet upon by three women and ſome children, being Iriſh, who miſerably rent and tore the ſaid poor Engliſh woman, and ſtripped her of her ſmock in a bitter froſt and ſnow, ſo that ſhe fell in labour in their hands, and both ſhe and her child died there. Jurat. Jan. 4, 1641.

† This cruelty was uſed to ſome Engliſh in the province of Conaught, as was teſtified to the lords juſtices and council, as doth appear by their letters.

‡ Thomas Fleetwood, curate of Kilbeggan, in the county of Weſt-Meath, depoſeth, that the lord preſident of Conaught, cauſed an Engliſh woman, who could ſpeak Iriſh, to go towards Dublin with a letter, but ſhe was taken within five miles of the town of Athlone, brought back and ſtoned to death by the women of the town, dwelling on the hither ſide of the bridge. Jurat.

James of Hacket's town, in the county of Catherlagh, depoſeth, that an Iriſh gentleman told him and others, that he turned an Engliſh woman away who was his ſervant, and had a child; and that before the poor woman and child were gone half a mile, divers Iriſh women ſlew them with ſtones. Jurat. April 21, 1643.

§ John Clerk, of Knockback, gent. depoſeth, that he heard credibly from Mr. Leightboune, miniſter of the Naas, that the rebels ſhot a pariſh-clerk near Kildare, through both his thighs, and afterwards digged a deep hole in the ground, wherein they ſet him upright on his feet, and filled up the hole in the earth, leaving out only his head, in which ſtate and poſture they left the poor wounded man till he pined, languiſhed, and do died. Jurat. Octob. 24, 1643.

1641. the earth, and ſo covered up to the very chin, there left in that miſerable manner to periſh; a * man's feet held in the fire till he was burnt to death, his wife hanged at his door; † a miniſter ſtripped ſtark naked, and ſo driven like a beaſt thorough the town of Caſhel, the rebels following and pricking him forward with darts and rapiers; ‡ a company of men, women, and children, put into a houſe, and as they were burning, ſome children that made an eſcape out of the flames, were taken by the rebels who ſtood by, cut them in pieces with ſcythes, and ſo caſt them into the fire again!

Neither

* Katherine, the relict of William Coke, of the county of Armagh, depoſeth, that many of her neighbours who had been priſoners among the rebels, ſaid and affirmed, that divers of the rebels would confeſs, brag, and boaſt, how they took an Engliſh proteſtant, one Robert Wilkinſon, at Kilmore, and held his feet in the fire until they burned him to death: and the ſame Robert Wilkinſon's own ſon was preſent, and a priſoner, when that cruelty was exerciſed on his father. Jurat. Feb. 24. 1643.

† At Caſhel in Munſter, beſide many miniſters which they there hanged after a moſt barbarous manner, they ſtrip'd one naked, and drove him through the town, pricking him forward with darts and rapiers, and ſo purſuing him till he fell down dead. Jurat. Feb. 24. 1643.

‡ Chriſtian Stanhow, the relict of Henry Stanhow, late of the county of Armagh, eſquire, depoſeth, that a woman that formerly lived near Laugale, abſolutely informed this deponent, that the rebels enforced a great number of proteſtants, men, women, and children, into a houſe which they ſet on fire purpoſely to burn them, as they did, and ſtill as any of them offered to come out to ſhun the fire, the wicked rebels with ſcythes, which they had in their hands, cut them in pieces, and caſt them into the fire, and burned them with the reſt. Jurat. July 23. 1642.

Neither did theſe horrible tortures, which they put theſe poor innocent chriſtians unto, aſſuage their fury; their malice towards them did not determine with their breath. But after ſo many ſeveral bloody ways and cruel intentions wherewith they rent their ſouls from their wretched bodies, even to their * dead carcaſſes, in ſome places, they denied all manner of burial; ſome † they caſt into ditches, others ‡ they left to be devoured by dogs 1641.

* Adam Clover, of the county of Cavan, depoſeth, that he obſerved thirty perſons to be moſt barbarouſly murdered, and about one hundred and fifty more cruelly wounded, ſo that traces of blood iſſuing from them, lay upon the high-way for twelve miles together, and many very young children were left and periſhed by the way, to the number of ſixty, or thereabouts; becauſe the cruelties of the rebels were ſuch, that their parents and friends could not carry them further. And further ſaith, that ſome of the rebels vowed, that if any digged graves, wherein to bury the dead children, they ſhould be buried therein themſelves: ſo the poor people left moſt of them unburied, expoſed to ravenous beaſts and fowls. Jurat. Jan. 4, 1641.

† Edward Saltinſtale depoſeth, that the rebels killed William Loverden when he was naked, his wife and children looking on, and cutting off his head, held it up to his wife and children; and his ſorrowful wife taking his corpſe and burying of it in a garden, Patrick O Dally, a rebel, took it up, and threw it into a ditch. Jurat. ut ſupra.

‡ Thomas Green and Elizabeth his wife, depoſe, that the rebels at ſeveral times murdered, killed and deſtroyed the moſt part of the proteſtants in the pariſh of Dumcres, being about three hundred, and indeed moſt of the proteſtants in all the county thereabouts, did they kill and deſtroy, by drowning, hanging, burning, the ſword, ſtarving, and other deaths, expoſing their ſlaughtered bodies to be devoured by dogs, ſwine, and other ravenous creatures: and this deponent, Elizabeth, ſaw the dogs feed upon thoſe dead carcaſſes. Jurat. Nov. 10. 1643.

1641. dogs and ſwine, others by fowls and ravenous birds; nay, * ſeveral which had been formerly buried, they digged up, and left them to putrify above ground.

And theſe truly are but ſome of thoſe ways, among many others which, with moſt exquiſite pains and cruel tortures, were uſed by theſe mercileſs † rebels to let in death among an innocent, unprovoking, unreſiſting people, that had always lived peaceably with them, ‡ adminiſtering all manner of helps and comforts

* Richard Bourk, batchelor of divinity, depoſeth, that he was informed, that Mr. Lodge, arch-deacon of Killalow, being buried about ſix years ſince; with his, divers other miniſters bones were digged out of their graves as patrons of hereſy, by direction of the titular biſhop of Killalow; and Robert Jones, a miniſter, was not admitted chriſtian burial, by direction of ſome popiſh prieſts. Jurat. July 12, 1643.

David Buck depoſeth, that in the pariſh of Munrath, in the Queen's-County, the rebels digged up a number of Engliſh men's graves, and left the corps above ground to be abuſed by dogs, hogs, or any other ravenous creatures.

† Arthur Agmoughty depoſeth, that during the ſiege of Caſtle-Forbez, the rebels killed poor children that went out to eat weeds or graſs; and that a poor woman whoſe huſband was taken by the rebels, went to them with two children at her feet, and one at her breaſt, hoping to beg her huſband's life; but they ſlew her and her ſucking child, broke the neck of another of her children, and the third hardly eſcaped. Jurat, Sept. 23, 1643.

‡ Mr. Creighton depoſeth in his examination, that ſometimes the chief of the Iriſh would make heavy moan for the evils they perceived were coming on their country and kindred, and ſaid, they ſaw utter deſtruction at hand, for that they had covered ſo great a bitterneſs ſo long in their hearts againſt the Engliſh, and now ſo ſuddenly broke out againſt them, that had brought them up, kept them in their houſes like children, and had made no difference between them, their Engliſh friends and

comforts to thoſe who were in diſtreſs; that made no difference betwixt them and thoſe of their own nation, but ever cheriſhed them as friends, and loving neighbours, without giving any cauſe of unkindneſs or diſtate unto them. It is not poſſible to recollect or expreſs the wickedneſs of their miſchievous inventions, or horrour of their bloody executions, actuated with all kind of circumſtances that might aggravate the height of their cruelty towards them. Alas! who can comprehend the fears, terrours, anguiſh, bitterneſs and perplexity of their ſouls, the deſpairing paſſions and conſternation in their minds! What ſtrange amazed thoughts muſt it needs raiſe in their ſad hearts, to find themſelves ſo ſuddenly ſurpriſed without remedy, and inextricably wrapt up in all kind of outward miſeries which could poſſibly by man be inflicted upon any humane creatures! What ſighs, groans, trembling, aſtoniſhment! What ſcreeches, cries, and bitter lamentations of wife and children, friends and ſervants, howling and weeping about them, all finding themſelves without any manner of hope or deliverance from their preſent miſery and pain! How inexorable were their barbarous tormentors, that compaſſed them on every ſide without all bowels of compaſſion, any ſenſe of their ſufferings or the leaſt commiſeration and pity, the common comforters of men in miſery. 1641.

and kindred, by all which the Engliſh had ſo well deſerved of them, and they had requited them ſo evil, that the Engliſh would never truſt them hereafter; and now it remains that either they muſt deſtroy the Engliſh, or the Engliſh them. Jurat. ut ſupra.

1642 It was no ſmall addition to their ſorrows, to hear * the baſe reviling ſpeeches uſed againſt their country and country-men, ſome loudly threatning † all ſhould be cut off, and utterly deſtroyed that had one drop of Engliſh blood in them; the Iriſh women crying

* Fran. Barbour, of Dublin, gent. depoſeth, that at the beginning of the rebellion, he heard ſeveral of the rebels publickly ſay, that now the day was their own, and that they had been ſlaves to the Engliſh a long time, but that now they would be revenged to the full, and would not leave before Chriſtmas-day, an Engliſh proteſtant rogue living, with other like bitter words. Jurat. Jan. 5, 1643.

Jane the relict of Gabriel Conſtable, depoſeth, that the rebels having half killed one Ellen Millington, and then put her into a dry hole made for a well, and made her faſt in with ſtones, whereof ſhe languiſhed and died; the rebels bragged how many of them went to ſee her kick and toſs in the hole, her huſband being formerly murdered by the rebels. Jurat. ut ſupra.

† Elizabeth, the wife of Thomas Green, depoſeth, that ſhe heard the rebels ſay, the Engliſh were meat for dogs; that there ſhould not be one drop of Engliſh blood left within the kingdom, and that they would deſtroy all, the very Engliſh children whom they called baſtards. Jurat. Nov. 10. 1643.

Richard Cleybrook depoſeth, that he heard Luke Toole ſay, that they would not leave an Engliſh man or Engliſh woman in the kingdom; that they would not leave an Engliſh beaſt alive, or any of the breed of them.

Samuel Man, of the county Fermanagh, gent. depoſeth, that he heard ſome of the Iriſh ſay, that there ſhould not be one Engliſh man, woman, or child left in the kingdom. Jurat.

Elizabeth Dickingſon depoſeth, that ſhe heard ſome of the company of Roury Mac-Gwire, ſay, that the Iriſh had command to leave never a drop of Engliſh blood in Ireland. Jurat. Nov. 17, 1642.

Catherine Madeſon, of the County of Fermanagh, depoſeth, that ſhe hath often heard the rebels ſay, that they would drive all the Engliſh and Scottiſh out of the kingdom, and that both man, woman, and child ſhould be cut off and deſtroyed. Jurat. Nov. 17, 1642.

crying out to ſpare neither man, woman, nor child that was Engliſh; that the Engliſh were meat for dogs, and their children baſtards. 1641.

How grievous and inſupportable muſt it needs be to a true chriſtian ſoul, to hear a baſe * villain boaſt, that his hands were ſo weary with killing and knocking down proteſtants into a bogg, that he could not lift his arms up to his head? or others to ſay, † that they had killed ſo many Engliſh men that the greaſe or fat which remained on their ſwords or ſkeins, might have made an Iriſh candle; or to conſider, that two young ‡ cow-boys ſhould have it in their pow-

* Elenor Fullerton, the reliſt of William Fullerton, late Parſon of Lougall, depoſeth, that in lent, 1641, a young roguing cow-boy, gave out and affirmed in this deponent's hearing, that his hands were ſo weary in killing and knocking down proteſtants into a bog-pit, that he could hardly lift his arms to his head. Jurat. Sept. 16, 1642.

Owen Frankland depoſeth, that he heard Hugh O Cane, late ſervant to Mrs. Stanhaw, calling to his fellows in a boaſting manner, aſking them what they had been doing at home all the day, that he had been abroad and had killed ſixteen of the rogues, and ſhewed them ſome money. Jurat. Sept. 16, 1642.

† Elizabeth Champion, late wife of Arthur Champion, in the county of Fermanagh, eſq; ſaith, that ſhe heard the rebels ſay, that they had killed ſo many Engliſh men, that the greaſe or fat which remained upon their ſwords and ſkeins, might well ſerve to make an Iriſh candle. Jurat. April 14, 1642.

‡ John Birne, late of Dongannon, in the county of Tyrone, depoſeth, that he heard ſome of the native Iriſh that were ſomewhat more merciful than the reſt, complain that two young cow-boys within the pariſh of Tullah, had at ſeveral times murdered and drowned thirty ſix women and children. Jurat. Jan. 12, 1643.

1641. er to murder thirty ſix proteſtants. Whoſoever ſhall ſeriouſly weigh theſe particulars, will not much wonder that ſo great numbers of Britiſh and proteſtants, ſhould be deſtroyed in ſo ſhort a time after * the firſt breaking out of the rebellion, as Mr. Cunningham depoſeth in his examination. He there ſaith, that the account of the perſons killed by the rebels from the time of the beginning of the rebellion, October 23, 1641, unto the month of April following, was, as the prieſts weekly gave it in, in their ſeveral pariſhes, one hundred and five thouſand. Jurat. April 22, 1641.

When the caſtle of Liſgoole † was ſet on fire by the rebels, and ſo many Britiſh, as are before-mentioned, conſumed in the flames, thoſe miſchievous villains that had done that wicked fact, cried out with much joy, "how ſweetly do they fry!" How did the inhabitants of ‡ Kilkenny (a city planted with old Engliſh

* James Shaw, a miniſter, depoſeth, that after the ceſſation made with the Iriſh, divers of them confeſſed, the prieſts had given them the ſacrament, upon condition they ſhould not ſpare man, woman, or child, that were proteſtants; and that he heard divers of them ſaying in a bragging manner, that it did them much good to waſh their hands in the blood of the proteſtants which they had ſlain. Jurat, Jan. 7, 1643.

† Elizabeth Champion depoſeth, that when the rebels had ſet the caſtle of Liſgoole on fire upon the proteſtants there incloſed, and ſaw the ſaid houſe ſo burning, they ſaid among themſelves rejoicingly, "O how ſweetly do they fry! Jurat. ut ſupra.

‡ William Lucas, of the city of Kilkenny, depoſeth, that although he lived in the town till about five or ſix weeks paſt, in which time he is aſſured divers murders and cruel acts were committed, yet he durſt not go abroad to ſee any of them: but he doth confidently believe that the

Engliſh, where civility and good manners ſeemed to flouriſh) ſolace and pleaſe themſelves in abuſing moſt unchriſtianly the heads of a miniſter and ſix other proteſtants, brought in a kind of triumph into that town: certainly it is not to be imagined, much leſs expreſſed, with what ſcorn and deriſion they acted theſe great cruelties upon all Britiſh which they had gotten into their power; with what joy and exultation their eyes did behold the ſad ſpectacle of their miſeries; what * greedy de- 1641.

the rebels having brought ſeven proteſtants heads, whereof one was the head of Mr. Bingham, a miniſter, they did then and there as triumphs of their victory, ſet them upon the market-croſs, on a market-day, and that the rebels ſlaſhed, ſtabbed and mangled thoſe heads; put a gag, or carrot, in the ſaid Mr. Bingham's mouth, ſlit up his cheeks to his ears, laying a leaf of a bible before him, and bid him preach, for his mouth was wide enough; and after they had ſo ſolaced themſelves, threw thoſe heads in a hole in St. James's-Green. Jurat. Aug. 16, 1643.

* Julian Johnſon, the relict of John Johnſon, of the county of Galway, depoſeth, that after the ſlaughter of ſome Engliſh, ſhe heard one O Moly, a friar, ſay in a triumphing manner, "it was a brave ſport to ſee the young men (meaning ſome of the Engliſh then ſlain) defending themſelves on every ſide, and their two eyes burning in their heads." And further, that ſhe heard ſome of the cruel ſoldiers then and there brag and boaſt of the brave ſport they had, by putting fire to the ſtraw which a ſtripped Engliſh woman had tied about her, ſaying, "how bravely the fire then made the Engliſh jade to dance!" Jurat. Feb. 8, 1643.

Joan Conſtable, the relict of Gabriel Conſtable, depoſeth, that the out-cries, lamentations, and ſchrieches of the poor proteſtants, burned in a thatched houſe in the pariſh of Kilmore, in the county of Armagh, were exceeding loud and pitiful, yet did nothing prevail, to mollify the hardened hearts of their murderers, but they moſt boldly made brags thereof, and took pride and glory in imitating thoſe cries, and in telling the deponent and others, how the children gaped when the fire began to burn

1641. light and pleaſure they took in their bloody executions; what † malice and hatred they expreſſed towards them, many with the laſt ſtroke of death giving them in their laſt agony * that fearful valediction, in Iriſh, *anim a duel*, thy ſoul to the devil.

But it was no wonder that they carried themſelves after this barbarous manner to theſe

burn them; and threatened and told her, this deponent, before it were long ſhe and the reſt of the proteſtants ſhould ſuffer the like deaths. And further ſaith, that the rebels within the county of Armagh, did act and commit divers other bloody barbarous cruelties (betwixt the time of the beginning of the rebellion, and her eſcape from impriſonment out of the ſaid county) by burning, drowning, hanging, the ſword, ſtarving, and other fearful deaths: That they did drown at one time, betwixt Tinon and Kinnard, ſixty Britiſh women and children; their reſpective huſbands and fathers, and all their male friends that were men, being murdered before: And that they did in the ſame water, at an other time, drown one Mrs. Maxwel, the wife of Mr. James Maxwel; when ſhe was in labour, and ſo forward therein, as ſome of thoſe bloody actors told and bragged to her, this deponent, that the very child's arm appeared, and waved in the water, the child being half born when the mother was drowned. Jurat. ut ſupra.

† Henry Brinkhurſt, of the county of Mayo, depoſeth, that after the maſſacre of Shreul, one of the rebels that that had acted his part there, came into a houſe with his hands and cloaths all bloody, ſaying, "it was Engliſh blood; that he hoped to have more of it, and that his ſkein had pinked the clean white skins of many at Shreul, even to the hilt thereof; and that amongſt others, it had been in the body of a fair complexion'd man, whoſe name was Jones." At which time of his diſcourſe, the wife of the ſaid Jones, with four of her ſmall chidren, ſat by, and durſt not cry out, but ſtriving to ſurpreſs her extream grief, fell into a ſwoon, and was conveyed out of the room, for fear he ſhould have done the like by her poor children. Henry Brinkhurſt, Jurat. March 11, 1643.

* This particular depoſed in the examination of Dr. Maxwell and Mrs. Price.

theſe poor innocent chriſtians, when they ſpared not moſt fearfully to belch out their rage againſt their maker. What open * helliſh blaſphemies were uttered by theſe wicked miſcreants? † with what indignation and reproach did they tear, trample under their feet, the ſacred word of god! how deſpitefully did they upbraid the profeſſion of the truth to thoſe bleſſed ſouls, whom neither by threats nor terrours, pains nor torments, they could draw to forſake their religion? 1641.

* Margaret Stokes, the wife of Hugh Stokes, duly ſworn and examined, depoſeth, inter alia, that when the rebels, or any of them, had killed an Engliſh man in the country, many others of them would come one after another, and every of them in moſt cruel manner ſtab, wound and cut him, and almoſt mangle him; and to ſhew their further malice, would not ſuffer or permit any to bury them, but would have them to lie naked, for the dogs, beaſts and fowls of the air to devour them. And further ſaith, when they had ſo killed the Engliſh, they would reckon up and account the number of them, and in a rejoycing and boaſting manner would ſay, that they had made the devil beholding to them, in ſending ſo many ſouls to him to hell. Jurat. coram ſir Gerrard Lowther.

Edward Dean, of Ocram, in the county of Wicklow, tanner, depoſeth, that the Iriſh rebels made proclamation, that all Engliſh men and women that did not depart the country within twenty-four hours ſhould be hanged, drawn and quartered; and that the Iriſh houſes that kept any of the Engliſh children, ſhould be burned. And further ſaith, that the ſaid rebels burned two proteſtant bibles, and then ſaid, that it was hell-fire that burnt. Jurat. Jan. 7, 1641.

† John Kerdif, clerk of the county of Tyrone, depoſeth, inter alia, that fryar Malone, of Skerries, did take the poor mens bibles which he found in the boat, and cut them in pieces, and caſt them into the fire with theſe words, that he would deal in like manner with all proteſtant and puritan bibles. Jurat. Feb. 28, 1641.

Henry

1641. But I ſhall not here touch any further upon thoſe who died thus gloriouſly; this will be a worthy work for ſome more able pen to undertake, and indeed fit for a martyrology. If we ſhall take a ſurvey of the primitive times, and look into the ſufferings of the firſt chriſtians that ſuffered under the tyranny and cruel perſecutions of thoſe heatheniſh emperors, we ſhall not certainly find any one kingdom, though of a far larger continent, where there were more chriſtians ſuffered, or more unparallel'd cruelties were acted in many years upon them, than were in Ireland, within the ſpace

Henry Fiſher, of Powerſcourt, in the county of Wicklow, depoſeth, that the rebels entered the pariſh-church at Powerſcourt, and burnt up the pews, pulpit, cheſts and bibles belonging to the ſaid church, with extream violence and triumph, and expreſſing of hatred to religion. Jurat. Jan. 25, 1641.

Adam Clover, of Slonoſy, in the county of Cavan, duly ſworn, depoſeth, that James O Rely, Hugh Brady, and other rebels, did often take into their hands the proteſtant bibles, and wetting them in the dirty water, did five or ſix times daſh the ſame on the face of this deponent, and other proteſtants, ſaying, come, I know you love a good leſſon, here is an excellent one for you; come to morrow, and you ſhall have as good a ſermon as this; and uſed other ſcornful and diſgraceful words unto them: and further ſaith, that dragging divers proteſtants by the hair of the head, and in other cruel manner, into the church, there ſtripped, robbed, whipped, and moſt cruelly uſed them, ſaying, if you come to morrow, you ſhall hear the like ſermon. Jurat. Jan. 4, 1641.

Edward Slack, of Guſteen, in the county of Fermanagh, clerk, depoſeth, that the rebels there took his bible, opened it, and laying the open ſide in a puddle of water, leaped and trampled upon it, ſaying, a plague on it, this bible hath bred all the quarrel; and that they hoped within few weeks all the bibles in Ireland ſhould be uſed as that was, or worſe, and that none ſhould be left in the kingdom. Jurat. Jan. 4, 1641.

ſpace of the firſt two months after the breaking out of this rebellion. And howſoever * ſome by outward inflictions and tortures were drawn to profeſs the change of their religion, and had preſently their reward: for many of thoſe they ſuddenly diſpatched with great ſcorn, ſaying, it was fit to ſend them out of the world in that good mood; † yet I dare ſay we ſhall find many thus cruelly put to death, equal to ſome of thoſe ancient worthies for their patience, conſtancy, courage, magnanimity in their ſufferings, not accepting deliverance, but triumphing and inſulting with their laſt breath, over the inſolency, rage and malice of their moſt inhumane and cruel perſecutors. 1641.

We ſhall find in the roman ſtory, during the ſeveral cruel conteſtations betwixt Marius and Sylla, when their factious followers filled the whole city of Rome with ſtreams of blood, ſtrange and moſt incomparable paſſages of friendſhips;

* Alexander Creighton of Glaſlough in the county of Monaghan, gent. depoſeth, that he heard it credibly reported among the rebels aforeſaid at Glauſlough, that Hugh Mac O Degan, a prieſt, had done a moſt meritorious act in drawing betwixt forty and fifty Engliſh and Scottiſh in the pariſh of Ganally, in the county of Fermanagh, to reconciliation with the church of Rome, and after giving them the ſacrament, demanded of them whether chriſt's body was really in the ſacrament or no; and they ſaid, yea, and that he demanded further, whether they held the pope to be ſupream head of the church; they likewiſe anſwered, he was: and that thereupon he preſently told them, they were in good faith, and for fear they ſhould fall from it, and turn hereticks, he and the reſt that were with him cut all their throats. Jurat. March 1, 1641.

† John Glaſs of Montwrath in the queen's county, ſworn and examined, ſaith, that Florence Fitz-Patrick of

1641. friendſhips; one expoſing himſelf to all manner of dangers for the preſervation of his friend of a contrary faction; ſervants willingly ſacrificing themſelves to ſave the lives of their beloved maſters. But here on the contrary, what open violation of all bands of humanity and friendſhip? no contracts, no promiſes obſerved; quarter given in the moſt ſolemn manner, with the greateſt oaths and ſevereſt execrations, under hand and ſeal, ſuddenly broken. The Iriſh landlords making a prey of their Engliſh tenants; the Iriſh ſervants betraying their Engliſh maſters; and every one eſteeming an act wherein they could declare their hatred and malice moſt againſt any of the Britiſh nation, as gallant and truly meritorious.

It is not to be denied, but that the firſt and moſt bloody executions were made in the province of Ulſter, and there they continued longeſt

of the ſaid county, eſq; having received Mr. John Nicholſon and his wife Ann Nicholſon, under his protection, did endeavour all he could to turn them to maſs, or the preſent rebellion; but they both profeſſed, that rather than they would either forſake their religion, or fight againſt their countrymen, they would die the death, the huſband profeſſing how much they abhorred it, and his wife even ſhewing greater reſolution: they would have had her burn her bible; but her anſwer was, before ſhe would either burn her bible, or turn againſt her countrymen, ſhe would die upon the point of the ſword; which was made good by them; for on a ſabbath-day in the morning before maſs, they were cruelly butchered and murdered by the command of the ſaid Florence Fitz-Patrick: the inſtrument that acted the villany, was one John Harding, who ſince hath been beyond all expreſſion tormented in his conſcience, and with continued apparitions of them (as he conceived) in ſuch manner as he murdered them; ſo as he is even now conſumed away with the horror of it, as is moſt frequently reported among the rebels. Jurat. April 8, 1642.

longeſt to execute their rage and cruelty; yet muſt it alſo be acknowledged, that all the other three provinces did concur with them, as it were with one common conſent to deſtroy and pluck up by the roots all the Britiſh planted throughout the kingdom. And for this purpoſe they went on, not only murdering, ſtripping and driving out all of them, men, women, and children, but they laid waſte their habitations, burnt their evidences, defaced in many places all the monuments of civility and devotion, the courts and places of the Engliſh government; nay, as ſome of themſelves expreſs it, they reſolved not to leave them either name or poſterity in Ireland. 1642.

How they proceeded on in this work, or how far they co-operated each with other, will be a taſk of a large ſize, and more proper for another place in this ſtory.

I ſhall here conclude this diſcourſe concerning the cruelties exerciſed upon the Britiſh and proteſtants, with theſe following examinations. They are eight in number, two witneſſes, as it were taken out of each province, to declare their bloody proceedings: I ſhall begin with Munſter, from whence we have yet very few examinations brought up, the chiefeſt of them having been moſt unhappily carried another way. Therefore I have thought fit, for the more full expreſſing their miſeries, to inſert their general remonſtrance, made upon the concluſion of the late ceſſation, in the year 1643. The two next enſuing are concerning the province of Conaught; then thoſe of the province of Ulſter; and laſtly, two examinations taken of ſome acts of cruelty committed within the province

1641. vince of Leinſter. I have made choice, for the moſt part of them, of ſuch as have been put in by perſons of good quality, of known integrity and credit. They are all upon oath, as all the other examinations concerning cruelties before-mentioned likewiſe are. I ſhall leave the ſeveral particulars to the conſideration of ſuch as ſhall pleaſe to take the pains to read them over. And I may well ſay of them, in reſpect of the former cruelties inſerted, as was ſaid to the prophet Ezekiel Ezek. 11. 12. in another caſe, "Turn thee yet again, and thou ſhalt ſee greater abominations than theſe."

A general remonſtrance of the diſtreſſed proteſtants in the province of Munſter.

Here follow ſeveral examinations taken upon oath of ſeveral horrid murders and moſt abominable cruelties acted within the four provinces.

SEtting forth, from the gaſping condition of their moſt ſad diſtreſſed ſouls, that whereas the province of Munſter, through the vaſt expence of Engliſh treaſure and blood, was reduced from the height of barbariſm to ſuch a degree of civility, that the power and dignity of the Engliſh crown, was much advanced and extended by the ſureſt and nobleſt bonds of a flouriſhing people: thoſe of religion, civility and profit: of religion, witneſſed, by the enlarged congregations both in cathedral and parochial churches: civility, by the many coſtly plantations, fair and ſtrong buildings, plentiful markets, and bountiful hoſpitality: and profit by the free trade and commerce throughout Chriſtendom. Lands fully improved, abounding with herds and flocks of all ſorts of the beſt Engliſh cattel, which enabled us to advance great ſums to his majeſty's cuſtoms, contribute large

large ſubſides, and to ſupply the weſt of England with ſuch a conſiderable proportion of wool and cattle, that a great part of the trade of thoſe parts ſubſiſted thereby. And this begun at the great charge of the Engliſh undertakers, in the time of queen Elizabeth, of famous memory; ſince when few parts of Chriſtendom from their beginning (in ſo ſhort ſpace) had ſuch a riſe and growth; which was not alone to ourſelves, but the very natives muſt confeſs, that their eſtates were hugely augmented by our improvements. And therefore let it not be wondred at, that when we conſider from what we are fallen, to what we are fallen; if the pain of loſs, ſtrive to equal that of ſenſe; and if the depth of our miſeries have not ſunk our ſouls to ſtupidity, we may compare our woes to the ſaddeſt parallel of any ſtory. Our temples demoliſhed, or worſe, prophaned by ſacrifices to idols; our houſes and caſtles become ruinous heaps, our nation extirpated, deſtroyed: no quality, age, ſex, priviledged from maſſacres and lingring death; by being robbed and ſtripped naked, through cold or famine, paſſages of a notable piece of clemency and mercy. The famiſhed infants of murdered parents ſwarm in our ſtreets, and for want of bread periſh before our faces; and many of our yet miſerable remnant, which lived plentifully, and relieved others, are forced to aſk relief, and thoſe they aſk of, conſtrained by want to refuſe them; ſo as undoubtedly our preſent miſeries are not far diſtant of thoſe of Samaria's ſiege; and all thoſe caſt upon us by this unparallel'd rebellion, at a time when we were moſt confident and ſecure, more and greater immunities and bounties being granted 1641.

1641. ted by his majeſty that now is, than ever was by his royal progenitors; for what cauſe, offence, or leaſt ſeeming provocation, our ſouls never imagine (ſin excepted) ſave that we were proteſtants, and his majeſty's loyal ſubjects, and could not endure their poyſonous breaths to belch out ſuch prophaneneſs, as in a deep meaſure pierced and wounded the ſacred fame of our king; and to colour this, we muſt go under the notorious names of, firſt, Puritans, and later, of Round-Heads; for particular inſtances, time would fail, and length weary the reader. But we are altogether confident to make it manifeſt, by abundant inſtances, that the depopulations in this province of Munſter, do well near equal thoſe of the whole kingdom. The particulars whereof, as of the multitude of inhuman cruelties, were collected and reduced to ſeveral inſtances, with ample proof, by the many months endeavours of a reverend divine, one arch-deacon Biſs, thereunto authorized by vertùe of a commiſſion under the broad-ſeal of this kingdom; who was moſt barbarouſly murdered by the Iriſh, expreſſing that to be the cauſe. And becauſe it may be thought requiſite to touch ſomething of the demeanours of the Iriſh ſince the ceſſation, as well as before; many Engliſh have been murdered as they travelled, with other expreſſions of that utter deteſtation of the Engliſh, that if any remain (which few do) nor ſurely will do, that can but breathe elſewhere; then muſt they be in a degree worſe than any known ſlavery: and likewiſe for other parts of the ceſſation, they have been totally broken, and our quarters, being of large extent, univerſally taken from us, even to the walls

walls of our garriſons; wherein we have often called to the chief of them for juſtice; which being denied (or which is worſe) delayed, want of means to juſtify ourſelves, leaves us without remedy. All which we pour forth our griefs and ſupplications, above, to GOD alone; and here on earth, to our dread ſovereign. 1641.

The examination of Anne, the late wife of John Sherring, late of the territory of Ormonde, near the ſilver-works, in the county of Tipperary, aged about twenty-five years, ſworn and examined, depoſeth and ſaith,

THAT about Candlemas was two years, the ſaid John Sherring, her then huſband, going from his farm, which he held from John Kenedy, eſq; near to the ſilver-works, one Hugh Kenedy, one of the brothers of the ſaid John Kenedy, a cruel rebel, together with a great multitude of Iriſh rebellious ſoldiers, then and there fiercely aſſaulted and ſet upon her huſband, and upon one William Brock, William Laughlin, Thomas Collop, and eight more Engliſh proteſtant men, and about ten women, and upon ſome children in their company, and then and there ſtrip'd them of their clothes, and then with ſtones, pole-axes, ſkeins, ſwords, pikes, darts, and other weapons, moſt barbarouſly maſſacred and murdered her huſband, and all thoſe proteſtant men, women and children: in the time of which maſſacre, a moſt loud and fearful noiſe and ſtorm of thunder, lightning, wind, hail-ſtones and rain began: the time being on a ſabbath-day, about an hour Province of Munſter.

1641. hour before night, the former part of the day being all very fair, but that thunder, lightning, and tempeſt, happening ſuddenly after the maſſacre was begun, much affrighted and terrified this deponent and many others, inſomuch as thoſe murderers themſelves confeſſed it to be a ſign of God's anger and threatning of them for ſuch their then cruelty; yet it deterred them not, but they perſiſted in their bloody act, until they had murdered thoſe ſaid Engliſh proteſtants, and had hack'd, hew'd, ſlaſh'd, ſtabbed, and ſo maſſacred them, that many of them were cut all to pieces; and her huſband, for his part, had thirty grievous wounds then and there given him, viz. ſome through or near his heart, ten mortal wounds in his head, three in his belly, and in either arm four, and the reſt in his thighs, legs, back and neck: and that murder done, thoſe barbarous rebels tied wyths about their necks, and drew them out of the refining-mill (where indeed they ſlew them) and threw them, or moſt of them, into a deep hole (formerly made) one upon another, ſo that none of thoſe twenty-three men, women, or children, did eſcape death. Howbeit, one Tho. Ladell, a Scottiſh man, and one George Kelſey, who then and there endured, and had many grievous wounds, and being left on the ground for dead, crawled up, (after the rebels were gone away) and with much difficulty eſcaped with their lives: and further ſaith, that ſuch was God's judgment upon the ſaid Hugh Kenedy, for that bloody fact, that he preſently fell into a moſt deſperate madneſs and diſtraction, and could not reſt day nor night; yet coveting to do more miſchief upon the Engliſh,

Engliſh, but being prevented, and denied to do it, he about a week after drowned himſelf in the next river to the ſilver works, but his barbarous and wicked ſoldiers went on in their wickedneſs, and afterwards bragged how they had killed a miniſter and his wife and four children near the city of Limerick; and this deponent is too well aſſured, that thoſe, and other Iriſh rebels in that part of the country, exerciſed and committed a great number of bloody murders, robberies, and outrages upon the perſons and goods of the proteſtants, ſo as very few eſcaped with their lives, and none at all ſaved their goods. And further ſaith, that all the popiſh gentry in the country thereabouts, eſpecially all thoſe of the Septs, and names of the O Brians, and the Coghluns, the Kenedies, were all actors in the preſent rebellion againſt his majeſty; and either acted, aſſiſted, incited or conſented to all the murders, robberies, cruelties, and rebellious acts aforeſaid. And ſhe further ſaith, that by means of the ſaid rebellion, her ſaid huſband and ſhe were at Werinwood about Candlemas, 1641, robbed and deprived of their cattle, houſhold-ſtuff, corn, malt, proviſion, ready money, debts, the benefit of their leaſe, and other their goods and chattles, of the value, and to their loſs, of one hundred and threeſcore pounds at the leaſt; and that the ſaid John Kenedy, eſq; their landlord, was the man that ſo deprived and robbed them thereof; and the other rebels ſtrip'd her ſtark naked. Jurat. Feb. 10, 1643. 1642.

Henry Jones, Anne Sherring.
Henry Brereton.

1641

The examination of John Goldſmith, parſon of Braſhoul, in the county of Mayo, ſworn and examined, ſaith,

The province of Conaught.

THAT the lord of Mayo being to convoy all thoſe of Caſtle-Burre to Galway, viz. ſir Henry Bingham with all his company, and the biſhop of Killalla, with all his company, with many of the neighbouring Engliſh, being about threeſcore in number, whereof there were ſome fifteen miniſters, covenanted with one Edmund Bourk for the ſafe convoy of the ſame parties upon a certain day; and the ſaid lord of Mayo appointed them all to meet him at Belcharagh, having firſt ſeparated this deponent from them to attend his lady in the work of the miniſtry. At which day, the titulary archbiſhop and the lord of Mayo meeting with their whole number, went on their journey to Shreul; at which place the lord of Mayo left them in the cuſtody of the ſaid laſt named Edmund Bourk: but as one Mr. Bringhurſt told the deponent, the lord of Mayo was not gone far from them, but the ſaid Edmund Bourk drew out his ſword, directing the reſt what they ſhould do, and began to maſſacre thoſe proteſtants; and accordingly ſome were ſhot to death, ſome ſtabb'd with ſkeins, ſome run through with pikes, ſome caſt into the water and drowned, and the women that were ſtripped naked, lying upon their huſbands to ſave them, were run through with pikes; and very few of thoſe Engliſh then and there eſcaped alive, but the moſt part were murdered in the place: amongſt the reſt, the biſhop of Killalla eſcaped with his life, but

was

was then and there wounded in his head; 1641.
and one Mr. Crowd, a miniſter, was then and there ſo beaten with cudgels on his feet, that he died ſhortly after. And this deponent further ſaith, that in the town of Sligo, forty perſons of Engliſh and Scottiſh, were by the rebels ſtriped and locked up in a cellar, and about midnight a butcher, which was ſent unto them on purpoſe, with his axe knocked them on the head, and ſo then and there murdered them: which butcher coming afterwards to Caſtle-Burre, did there confeſs his bloody fact.

In Tirawly, within the county of ——— about thirty or forty Engliſh (formerly turned papiſts) had their choice given them, whether they would die by the ſword, or drown themſelves: they making choice of drowning, were brought to the ſea-ſide by the rebels, who had their ſkeins drawn in their hands, and forced them to wade into the ſea: the mothers, with their children in their arms (crying for drink) having waded to the chin, at length caſt or dived themſelves and children into the ſea, yielding themſelves to the maſtery of the waves, and ſo periſhed.

The torments the rebels would uſe to the proteſtants to make them confeſs their monies, were theſe, viz. ſome they would take and writh wryths about their heads, till the blood ſprang out of the crown of their heads; others they would hang until they were half dead, then they would let them down; and do the ſame ſo often over, until they confeſſed their monies.

And this deponent further ſaith, that a young youth of about fifteen years of age, the ſon of Mr. Montgomery, the miniſter,

1641. meeting with a bloody rebel who had been his ſchool-maſter; this rebel drew his ſkein, and began furiouſly to ſlaſh and cut him therewith; the boy cried unto him, "Good maſter, do not kill me, but whip me as much as you will:" nevertheleſs the then mercileſs and cruel rebel there moſt barbarouſly murdered him.

A Scotch man travelling in the highway, with his wife and children, near —— were beſet by the rebels, who wounded and ſtabed him with their pikes, put him alive upon a car, brought him to a ditch, and buried him alive, as the poor wife afterwards (with great grief) told him, this deponent.

The vicar of Urras turned papiſt, and became drummer to captain Bourk, and was afterwards murdered for his pains by the rebels.

Another Scotch man, near Ballehen, was hanged by the rebels.

Jurat. 30 Decembris, 1643. John Goldſmith.

Henry Jones,
Henry Brereton.

The

1641.

The examination of Jane, the wife of Thomas Stewart, late of the town and county of Sligo, merchant; ſworn and examined before his majeſty's commiſſioners in that behalf authoriſed: depoſeth and ſaith,

THAT after the preſent rebellion was begun, viz. about the beginning of December, 1641, her ſaid huſband living as a merchant in the town aforeſaid, with her, this deponent, as for twenty ſix years he had done in very good eſtate and condition; and having continually furniſhed the inhabitants of that part thereabouts with all ſorts of wares and merchandiſe; and by that courſe having acquired and gained to himſelf an eſtate of good value: He, the ſaid Thomas Stewart, and ſhe, this Deponent, then poſſeſſing that eſtate, were then at Sligo aforeſaid, by Andrew Crean, of Sligo, eſq; then high-ſheriff of that county, Neil O Hart, of Donelly, in the ſaid county, gentleman; Roger O Conner, of Skarden, in the ſame county, gentleman; Donnel O Conner, of ——, gentleman, brother-in-law to Teige O Conner of Sligo; Richard O Crean, of Tirreragh, gentleman; John O Crean, eſq; and a juſtice of peace, ſon to the ſaid Andrew Crean; Anthony Screan, of ——, near Ballyſhany, gentleman, forcibly deprived, robbed and deſpoiled of their houſhold-goods, wares, merchandiſe, ſpecialties, cattle, horſes, plate, money, and other goods and cattles, of the value of one thouſand two hundred pounds ſterling, or thereabouts. Which robbery and outrage was committed in or about the beginning of

1641. December aforeſaid, at the very time of the rebels ſurpriſing, robbing and pilliaging of all the Engliſh and Scotch of the town of Sligo. In the doing whereof, not only the perſons, rebels before-named, but alſo Teige O Conner Sligo, now of the caſtle of Sligo, general of the rebels in thoſe parts; James French, of Sligo, aforeſaid, eſquire, a juſtice of the peace (a notorious and cruel rebel) Brian O Conner, of Drumcleer, gentleman; captain Charles O Conner, a fryar, and captain Hugh O Conner, all three captains, and brothers to the ſaid Teige O Conner Sligo; captain Patrick Plunket, near Killoony, in the ſame county, a juſtice of the peace; captain Phelim O Conner; captain Teige O Conner, of the Glan; captain Con O Conner, of the ſame; and divers others, whoſe names ſhe cannot for the preſent remember, were moſt forward and cruel actors: and thoſe rebels having altogether deprived and ſtripped all the Britiſh of all their eſtates they had, ſhe, this deponent, and her huſband, and many other Britiſh, were left in that town; and among the reſt, there were left there, which ſhe can well remember, viz. William Braxton, the deponent and her huſband and ſix children; James Scot and his ſon, of the age of four or five years, Sampſon Port and his wife, Mary Port and her father (of the age of ſeventy years, or thereabouts) John Little, Arthur Martin, William Dowlittle, and his wife and children, William Carter, and John Lewes, and Elizabeth his wife, Robert Scyens, Elizabeth Harlow, and one woman that was great with child, and within a month of her time, Iſabel Beard, who was great with child, and very near her time, and others whom ſhe cannot

cannot name; which Britiſh people (altho' they were promiſed fair quarter, and taken into the protection of the ſaid Tiege O Conner Sligo, who promiſed them a collection) yet they were daily threatned to be murdered, if they would not turn papiſts in one month the then next after; which, for ſaving of their lives, they were enforced to do. Notwithſtanding which, about the ſixth of January, then next following, the ſaid O Conner Sligo (having before called a meeting of his followers and kindred, in the counties of Sligo and Letrim, and conſidered with them, and with a convent of fryars of the abby of Sligo for three days together, where they ſat in council) all the men women, and children of the Britiſh that then could be found within the ſame town (ſaving this deponent, who was ſo ſick that ſhe could not ſtir) were ſummoned to go into the goal, and as many as could be met withal, were carried and put into the goal of Sligo, where about twelve a clock in the night they were ſtripped ſtark naked, and after moſt of them were moſt cruelly and barbarouſly murdered with ſwords, axes, and ſkeins, and particularly by two butchers, named James Buts and Robert Buts of Sligo, who murdered many of them; wherein alſo were actors, Charles O Conner, the Fryar, and Hugh O Conner aforenamed, brother to the ſaid Teige O Connor Sligo, and Teige O Sheile, Kedagh O Hart, labourer, Richard Walſh and Thomas Walſh, the one the jaylor, the other a butcher, and divers others whom ſhe cannot name: and ſaith, that above thirty of the Britiſh which were ſo put into the goal, were then and there murdered; beſides Robert Gumble, then provoſt of the

1641.

1641. ſaid town of Sligo, Edward Newſham and Edward Mercer, who were wounded and left for dead amongſt the reſt, and Jo. Stewart, this deponent's ſon, which four being the next day found alive, yet all beſmeared with blood, were ſpared to live. All which particulars the deponent was credibly told by thoſe that ſo eſcaped, and by her Iriſh ſervants, and others of the town; and ſaith, that ſome of the women ſo murdered being big with child (by their wounds received) the very arms and legs of the children in their wombs appeared, and were thruſt out; and one woman, viz. Iſabel Beard, being in the houſe of the friars, and hearing the lamentable cry that was made, ran into the ſtreet, and was purſued by one of the friar's men unto the river, where ſhe was barbarouſly murdered, and found the next day with the child's feet appearing, and thruſt out of her wounds in her ſides. And further ſaith, that on the ſaid ſixth day of January, there were murdered in the ſtreets of the town of Sligo, theſe Britiſh proteſtants following, viz. William Sheiles and John Sheils, his ſon, William Mapwel and Robert Akin. And the deponent further ſaith, (as ſhe was credibly informed by the perſons before named) that the inhuman rebels, after their murders committed in the ſaid goal, laid and placed ſome of the dead bodies of the naked murdered men upon the naked bodies of the women, in a moſt immodeſt poſture, not fit for chaſte ears to hear: in which poſture they continued to be ſeen the next morning by thoſe Iriſh of the town that came into the ſaid goal, who were delighted and rejoiced in thoſe bloody murders and uncivil actions: and that they of the Iriſh that came to bury them, ſtood up

to

to the mid-leg in the blood and brains of thoſe that were ſo murdered, who were carried out, and caſt into a pit digged for that purpoſe, in the garden of Mr. Ricrofts, miniſter of Sligo. And ſhe further ſaith, that whereas the river of Sligo was before very plentiful of fiſh, it did not for a long time after thoſe murders, afford any fiſh at all: and this deponent ſaw the friars in their white habits, in great companies in proceſſion, going to ſanctify the water, caſting therein holy water: ſhe ſaith alſo, that the prior of the convent of Sligo, after the murder of the ſaid women in the river, fell frantick, and ran ſo about the ſtreets, and continued in that frenzy for three or four weeks; and ſaith, that of her ſix children, three were ſtarved and died, after her releaſe out of impriſonment, which had been for eighteen months amongſt the rebels. 1641.

Jurat. 23 Aprilis, 1644. Signum prædict. VVV.

Henry Jones, Henry Brereton. Jane Stewart, alias Menize

Captain Anthony Stratford, of Charlemount, in the county of Armagh, Eſq; aged threeſcore years, or thereabouts, ſworn and examined before his majeſty's commiſſioners, by virtue of a commiſſion in that behalf, directed under the great ſeal of Ireland, depoſeth and ſaith,

THAT theſe proteſtant miniſters following, about the beginning of the preſent rebellion, were murdered in the counties of Province of Ulſter.

1641. of Tyrone and Armagh, viz. Mr. John Matthew, Mr. Blyth, Mr. Haſtings, Mr. Smith, Mr. Durragh, Mr. Birge, and eight more, whoſe names this deponent hath forgotten, by the rebels, none of which would the rebels permit to be buried; the names of ſuch as murdered, this examinant knoweth not; his cauſe of knowledge of the ſaid murders is, that ſome of his, this deponent's ſervants, who were among the rebels, did give him the relation, and he verily believeth them; and beſides, this deponent heard the ſame confeſſed and averred by many of the rebels themſelves, and by ſome of thoſe proteſtants that had eſcaped; and that he, this deponent, was a priſoner among the rebels at Caſtle-Caufield, near the place of thoſe murderers, where he continued fourteen months. And further ſaith, that in Dungannon, in the county of Tyrone, or near thereunto, the rebels murdered three hundred and ſixteen proteſtants; and between Charlemount and Dungannon, above four hundred that there were murdered and drowned at and in the river by Benburb, the black-water, between the counties of Armagh and Tyrone, two hundred and ſix proteſtants; and Patrick Mac-Crew of Dungannon aforeſaid, murdered thirty-one in one morning; and two young rebels, viz. John Begbrian and Hary, murdered in the ſaid county of Tyrone, one hundred and forty poor women and children that could make no reſiſtance; and that the wife of Brian Kelly of Loghgal, in the county of Armagh (one of the rebels captains) did with her own hands murder forty-five. And this deponent further ſaith, that one Thomas King, ſometimes ſerjeant to the late lord Caufield's company (which this deponent commanded

manded) he being inforced to ſerve under the rebels, and was one of the provoſt-marſhals, gave the deponent a liſt of every houſholder's name ſo murdered, and the number of the perſons ſo murdered; which liſt this deponent durſt not keep: at Portadowne there were drowned at ſeveral times about three hundred and eight, who were ſent away by about forty, or ſuch like numbers at once, with convoys, and there drowned: there was a lough near Loghgall aforeſaid, where were drowned above two hundred, of which this deponent was informed by ſeveral perſons, and particularly by the wife of Dr. Hodges, and two of her ſons, who were preſent and deſigned for the like end, but by god's mercy that gave them favour in the eyes of ſome of the rebels, they eſcaped; and the ſaid Mrs. Hodges and her ſons gave the deponent a liſt of the names of many of thoſe that were ſo drowned, which the deponent durſt not keep; and ſaith, that the ſaid Dr. Hodges was imployed by ſir Phelim O Neil to make powder; but he failing of his undertaking, was firſt half-hanged, then cut down, and kept priſoner three months, and then murdered with forty-four more within a quarter of a mile of Charlemount aforeſaid, they being by Tirlogh O Neil, brother to ſir Phelim, ſent to Dungannon priſoners, and in the way murdered. This deponent was ſhewed the pit where they were all caſt in. 1641.

At a mill-pond in the pariſh of Killamen in the county of Tyrone, there were drowned in one day 300; and in the ſame pariſh there were murdered of Engliſh and Scottiſh 1200, as this deponent was informed by Mr. Birge, the late miniſter of the ſaid pariſh, who certified

1641. tified the ſame under his hand, which note the deponent durſt not keep: the ſaid Mr. Birge was murdered three months after: All which murders were in the firſt breaking out of the rebellion, but the particular times this deponent cannot remember, neither the perſons by whom they were committed. This deponent was credibly informed by the ſaid ſerjeant, and others of this deponent's ſervants (who kept company with the rebels, and ſaw the ſame) that many young children were cut into quarters and gobbets by the rebels, and that eighteen Scottiſh infants were hanged on a clothier's tenterhook, and that they murdered a young fat Scottiſh man, and made candles of his greaſe; they took another Scottiſh man and ripped up his belly, that they might come to his ſmall guts, the one end whereof they tied to a tree, and made him go round until he had drawn them all out of his body; they then ſaying, that they would try whether a dog's or a Scotch man's guts were the longer.

Depoſed March 9,
1643, before us, Anthony Stratford.

Henry Jones.
Henry Brereton.

The

1641.

The examination of Robert Maxwell, clerk, arch-deacon of Down, ſworn and examined, depoſeth and ſaith, inter alia.

THAT by command from ſir Phelim O Neil, the rebels dragged the deponent's brother, lieutenant James Maxwell, out of his bed, in the rage and height of a burning fever; and leſt any of his acquaintance or friends ſhould bury him, they carried him two miles from any church, and there cruelly butchered him, when he neither knew what he did or ſaid; and thus ſir Phelim paid him two hundred and ſixty pound which he owed him: and his wife Griſſel Maxwell being in child-birth, the child half born and half unborn, they ſtript ſtark naked, drove her about an arrows flight to the Black-water, and drowned her: the like they did to another Engliſh woman in the ſame pariſh, in the beginning of the rebellion, which was little inferiour, if not more unnatural and barbarous, than the roaſting of Mr. Watſon alive, after they had cut a collop out of either buttock. And farther ſaith, that a Scottiſh woman was found in the Glinwood lying dead, her belly ripped up, and a living child crawling in her womb cut out of the cawl; and that Mr. Starkey, ſchool-maſter at Armagh, he a gentleman of good parentage and parts, being upwards of an hundred years of age, they ſtripped naked, cauſed two of his daughters, virgins, being likewſe naked, to ſupport him under each arm, he being not able to go of himſelf; and in that poſture carried them all three a quarter of a mile, to a turf-pit, and drowned them, feeding the luſts of their eyes and the cruelty

The province of Ulſter.

1642. cruelty of their hearts with the ſelf-ſame objects at the ſame time. At the ſiege of Augher, they would not kill any Engliſh beaſt, and then eat it, but they cut collops out of them being alive, letting them there roar till they had no more fleſh upon their backs; ſo that ſometimes a beaſt would live two or three days together in that torment; the like they did at Armagh, when they murdered Hugh Echlin, eſq; they hanged and murdered all his Iriſh ſervants which had any way proved faithful or uſeful to him during this rebellion. And as touching exemplary conſtancy in religion, this deponent ſaith, that Henry Cowel, eſq; a gallant and well bred gentleman, was murdered becauſe he would not conſent to marry a beaſtly trull, Mary Ny Neil, a near kinſwoman of ſir Phelim's: he was proffered his life without the blouſe, if he would have gone to maſs, but he choſe rather to die, than to do either. There was made the like proffer of life for going to maſs, to Robert Ecklin, a child of eleven or twelve years of age, but he alſo refuſed it, ſaying, "he ſaw nothing in their religion for which he would change his own." And this deponent further ſaith, that very many of the Britiſh proteſtants the rebels buried alive, and took great pleaſure to hear them ſpeak unto them, as they digged down old ditches upon them; except thoſe whom they thus buried, they buried none of the proteſtants, neither would permit any that ſurvived to perform that duty for them: and further ſaith, that the rebels would ſend their children abroad in great troops, eſpecially near unto Kinnard, armed with long wattles and whips, who would therewith beat dead men's bodies about

about their privy members, until they beat, 1641.
or rather traſhed them off, and then would return in great joy to their parents, who received them for ſuch ſervice as it were in triumph. And further ſaith, that if any women were found dead lying with their faces downward, they would turn them upon their backs, and in great flocks reſort unto them, cenſuring all parts of their bodies, but eſpecially ſuch as are not fit to be named, which afterwards they abuſed ſo many ways, and ſo filthily, as chaſte ears would not endure the very naming thereof.

Many of the proteſtants the rebels would not kill out-right, but being half dead, would ſo leave them, entreating for no better favour at their hands two or three days after, but to kill them out-right, which ſometimes was granted ſometimes denied.

A young youth having his back-bone broken, was found in a field, having like a beaſt eaten all the graſs round about him; the deponent could not learn that they killed him out, but that they removed him to a place of better paſture; ſo that in thoſe moſt bloody and execrable wretches, that of the holy ghoſt is verified, "the very mercy of the wicked is cruelty:" and further ſaith, that the rebels themſelves told him, this deponent, that they murdered nine hundred and fifty four in one morning in the county of Antrim; and that beſides them, they ſuppoſed that they killed above eleven or twelve hundred more, in that county: they told him likewiſe, that colonel Bryan O Neil killed about a thouſand in the county of Down, beſides three hundred killed near Killeleigh, and many hundreds both

1641 both before and after in both thoſe counties.

At ſir Phelim's return from Liſnegarvy, ſome of the ſoldiers forced about twenty-four Britiſh into a houſe, where they burned them alive, whoſe terrible out-cries they deſired very much to imitate and expreſs unto others; and ſaith, that he heard ſir Phelim likewiſe report, that he killed ſix hundred Engliſh at Garvagh in the county of Derry; and that he had left neither man, woman, or child alive in the barony of Munterlong in the county of Tyrone, and betwixt Armagh and the Newry, in the ſeveral plantations and lands of Sir Archibald Atcheſon, John Hamilton, Eſq; the lord Cauſield, and the lord Mount Norris: and ſaith alſo, that there were above 2000 of the Britiſh murdered for the moſt part in their own houſes, whereof he was informed by a Scots-man, who was in thoſe parts with ſir Phelim, and ſaw their houſes filled with their dead bodies. In the Glin wood towards Dromore, there were ſlaughter'd, as the rebels told the deponent, upwards of twelve thouſand in all, who were all killed in their flight to the county of Down: the number of the people drowned at the bridge of Portadown, are diverſly reported according as men ſtaid among the rebels; this deponent who ſtaid as long as any, and had better intelligence than moſt of the Engliſh amongſt them, and had beſt reaſon to know the truth, ſaith, there were (by their own report) one hundred and ninety drowned with Mr. Fullerton: at another time they threw one hundred and forty over the ſaid bridge; at another time thirty-ſix, or thirty-ſeven, and ſo continued drowning

ing more or fewer, for ſeven or eight weeks, ſo as the feweſt which can be ſuppoſed there to have periſhed, muſt needs be above one thouſand, beſides as many more drowned betwixt that bridge and the great Lough of Montjoy, beſides thoſe who periſhed by the ſword, fire and famine, in Coubraſſil, and the Engliſh plantations adjacent: which, in regard there eſcaped not three hundred out of all thoſe quarters, muſt needs amount to many thouſands. 1641.

Near unto the deponent's houſe thirty ſix perſons were carried to the Cure-bridge at one time, and drowned. At another time ſix and fifty, men, women, and children; all of them being taken out of the deponent's houſe; and at ſeveral other times ſeveral other numbers; beſides thoſe that were drowned in the black-water at Kinnard. In which town and the pariſh of Tinon (whereof the deponent was rector) there was drowned, ſlaughtered and died of famine, and for want of clothes, about ſix hundred. The deponent might add to theſe many thouſands more; but the diary which he this deponent wrote amongſt the rebels being burned, with his houſe, books and all his papers; he referreth himſelf to the number in groſs, which the rebels themſelves have upon inquiry, found out and acknowledged; which notwithſtanding will come ſhort of all that have been murder'd in Ireland; there being above one hundred and fifty four thouſand now wanting of the Britiſh within the very precinct of Ulſter. The numbers of Britiſh deſtroyed within the province of Ulſter.

And this deponent further ſaith, that it was common table-talk amongſt the rebels, that the ghoſt of Mr. William Fullerton,

1641. Timothy Jephes, and the moſt of thoſe who were thrown over Portadown-bridge, were daily and nightly ſeen to walk upon the river, ſometimes ſinging of pſalms, ſometimes brandiſhing of naked ſwords, ſometimes ſcreeching in a moſt hideous and fearful manner. The deponent did not believe the ſame at firſt, neither doth he yet know whether to believe it or no; but ſaith that divers of the rebels aſſured him that they themſelves did dwell near to the ſame river, and being daily affrighted with thoſe apparitions, but eſpecially with their horrible ſcreeching, were in concluſion inforced to remove further into the country: their own prieſts and friers could not deny the truth thereof. But as it was by the deponent objected unto them; they ſaid it was but a cunning ſlight of the devil to hinder this great work of propagating the catholick Faith, and killing of hereticks; or that it was wrought by witchcraft. The deponent himſelf lived within thirteen miles of the bridge, and never heard any man ſo much as doubt of the truth thereof. Howſoever, he obligeth no man's faith, in regard he ſaw it not with his own eyes; otherwiſe he had as much certainty as morally could be required of ſuch a matter.

And this deponent further ſaith; that the degenerate Pale-Engliſh, were moſt cruel amongſt the Britiſt proteſtants, being beaten from their own lands; and were never ſatisfied with their blood, until they had in a manner ſeen the laſt drop thereof; affrighting ſir Phelim O Neil every day with their numbers, and perſuading him, that whilſt they (meaning the proteſtants) lived, there would neither be room for them, nor ſafety

for

for him. It was eaſie to ſpur on the cowardly and bloody rebel; yet no ſooner were the proteſtants cut off, but contrary to their expectation, the meer Iriſh took preſent poſſeſſion, of their lands and houſes; whereat the Pale Engliſh much grumbled; and ſaid, ſir Phelim had not kept promiſe with them; howſoever, they were forced to ſwallow thoſe and many other injuries. 1641

And further ſaith, that he knew one boy, that dwelt near unto himſelf, and not exceeding fourteen years of age, who killed at Kinnard, in one night, fifteen able ſtrong men with his ſkein, they being diſarmed and moſt of their feet in the ſtocks.

Another not above twelve years of age, killed two women at the ſiege of Augher.

Another that was a woman and tenant to this deponent, killed ſeven men and women, of her fellow Engliſh tenants, in one morning. And it was very uſual in all parts, for the rebels children to murder the proteſtants children; and ſometimes with lath-ſwords, heavy, and well ſharpened, they would venture upon people of riper years; cruelties not to be believed, if there were not ſo many eye-witneſſes of them.

Depoſeth 22, of Auguſt, 1642.

Henry Brereton. William Aldrich.

1641.

The examination of dame Anne Butler, wife unto ſir Thomas Butler of Rathealin, in the county of Catherlagh, knight; duly ſworn, depoſeth,

The province of Leinſter.

THAT after Walter Bagnal, of Dunlickny, in the county of Catherlagh, Eſq; and Walter Butler, with a great number of men, had in a violent manner entered this deponent's houſe, they not able to reſiſt, they ſet ſtrict guard over this deponent, her huſband and family, and brought them from their ſettled dwelling unto Loghlin-bridge, where they kept herſelf, her huſband, and children in reſtraint for two weeks, and from thence conveyed them with a ſtrict guard to Kilkenny; and there they were brought before the lord Mount Garrot; where Walter Bagnal and James Butler, brother to the lord Mount Garrot, did uſe all means poſſible to move the ſaid lord to put this deponent, her huſband and family, to death and torture; alledging, that they were rank puritan proteſtants; and deſperately provoking, uſed theſe words, ſaying "there's but one way, we or they," meaning papiſts and proteſtants, "muſt periſh." To which malicious provocation the ſaid lord did not hearken. And this deponent further depoſeth, that Walter Bagnal, with his rebellious company, apprehended Richard Lake an Engliſh proteſtant, and his ſervant, with his wife and four children, and one Richard Taylor, of Loghlin-bridge, his wife and children, Samuel Hatter of the ſame, his wife and children, an Engliſh woman called Jone, and her daughter, and was credibly informed by Dorothy Renals,

nals, who had been ſeveral times an eye-witneſs of theſe lamentable ſpectacles, that ſhe had ſeen to the number of five and thirty Engliſh going to execution; and that ſhe had ſeen them when they were executed, their bodies expoſed to devouring ravens, and not afforded ſo much as burial. Another Engliſh woman, who was newly delivered of two children in one birth, they violently compelled her in her great pain and ſickneſs, to riſe from her child-bed, and took the infant that was left alive, and daſhed his brains againſt the ſtones, and after threw him into the river of the Barrow: and having a piece of ſalmon to dinner, Mr. Brian Cavanagh's wife being with her, ſhe, the ſaid Mrs. Cavanagh, refuſed to eat any part of the ſalmon; and being demanded the reaſon, ſhe ſaid ſhe would never eat any fiſh that came out of the Barrow, becauſe ſhe had ſeen ſeveral infants bodies, and other carkaſes of the Engliſh taken up in the wear. 1641.

And this deponent ſaith, that ſir Edward Butler did credibly inform her, that James Butler of Finyhinch had hanged and put to death all the Engliſh that were at Goran and Wells, and all thereabouts. And further depoſeth, that ſhe being in Kilkenny a priſoner in reſtraint, and having intelligence that ſome of her own cattle were brought thither by Walter Bagnal, ſhe petitioned (being in great extremity) to the lord of Mount Garrot, to procure her ſome of her own cattle for her relief; whereupon he recommended her ſuit to the mayor and corporation of Kilkenny; who concluded, becauſe ſhe and her family were proteſtants, and would not turn to maſs, they ſhould have no relief. Jane Jones, ſer-

1641. vant to the deponent, did ſee the Engliſh formerly ſpecified, going to their execution; and, as ſhe conceived, they were about the number of thirty-five; and was told by Elizabeth Homes, that there were forty gone to execution.

Jurat. 7 Septem. 1642.

Anne Butler.

John Watſon.

The examination of Joſeph Wheeler of Stancarty in the county of Kilkenny, eſq; Elizabeth the relict of lieutenant William Gilbert, of captain Ridgway's company; Rebecca Hill, the relict of Thomas Hill, late lieutenant to the ſaid captain Ridgway; Thomas Lewis, late of Kilkenny, gent. Jonas Wheeler of Stancarty aforeſaid, gent. and Patrick Maxwell of the Graige in the ſame county, gent. ſworn and examined, depoſe and ſay,

The province of Leinſter. THAT about Eaſter 1642, one Ricard Phillips, and five others, who were old garriſon ſoldiers, then under the command of captain Farrel, a captain of his majeſty's party, were, by the command of the lord Mount Garrot, at the end of a houſe in Kilkenny, hanged to death by that cruel and bloody rebel and provoſt-marſhal, Thomas Cantwell of Cantwell-Court, eſq; or ſome of his ſervants or ſoldiers in his preſence, who would hardly ſuffer them to ſay their prayers after they were taken out of the priſon before they were put to death; thoſe poor men dying very patiently and reſolutely, in the maintenance of the

the proteſtant faith; but one of them, be- 1641.
cauſe he was an Iriſh man, was offered his life if he would turn papiſt, but he choſe rather death, which he quickly had with the other five. And further ſaith, that a little before Chriſtmas 1644. Mr. William Hill of the Abby of ——— in the Queen's County, and the ſaid lieutenant Thomas Hill, his ſon, coming to Kilkenny, to fetch home Mary Hill, the wife of him the ſaid William Hill, and the ſaid Rebecca; every one of theſe deponents were then and there ſent for by the Lord Mount Garrot, and by him committed priſoners to the goal of Kilkenny; where they continued in a dark dungeon bolted for two months, but were offered freedom if they would join with the rebels, and become papiſts; but they refuſed: and after the ſaid Lord Mount Garrot was gone into Munſter with his forces, (which was an example to all the reſt of the wicked Iriſh there to riſe into rebellion) one Florence Fitz-Patrick of Caſtletowne in the Queen's County, eſq; a captain of the rebels, and his ſoldiers came to Kilkenny, and then and there (without reſiſtance of any) broke open the goal there, and forcibly took and carried away with them into Oſſory the ſaid William and Thomas Hill, where they kept them in miſerable durance for ſome time, and then hanged them both; and a poor young girl being ſent from the town of Ballinekill to ſee what was become of them, and the ſaid Florence Fitz-Patrick meeting her, cauſed her to be half hanged, then let down, and after to be buried quick. And by report of one Jone Grace (that ſaid ſhe was an eye-witneſs) the rebels threw the dead bodies of the ſaid

1641. William and Thomas Hill, into a ſaw-pit, leaving them ſo far unburied, that their heads and legs lay bare, untill ſhe came and covered them with earth, about a week after: And further ſaith, that they have credibly heard and believed, that the ſaid Florence Fitz-Patrick having enticed a rich merchant of Montwrath to his the ſaid Fitz-Patrick's houſe, to bring thither his goods which he promiſed ſhould be ſafely protected, and ſafely redelivered; he, the ſaid Florence Fitz-Patrick, poſſeſſing thoſe goods, afterwards cauſed the ſaid merchant and his wife to be hanged; and they have credibly heard, that the ſaid Florence Fitz-Patrick alſo hanged lieutenant Keis and his ſon, one Hughes a ſchool-maſter, and divers other proteſtants. And theſe deponents further ſay, that Mr. Edmond Butler, eldeſt ſon to the lord Mount Garrot, Edward Butler his ſecond ſon, captain Garret Blankfield, and divers other rebellious commanders and ſoldiers, to the number of ſix or ſeven hundred horſe and foot a little before Michaelmas 1642, marched from Balliragget near to the iron forge of Ballinekill, and there met with lieutenant Gilbert aforenamed enſign, William Alfred the younger, Mr. Thomas Bingham the miniſter, Robert Graves, Richard Bently, and about ſixty more of the Engliſh ſoldiers, both the ſame parties joined in battle, but the Engliſh ſoldiers, though fighting valiantly, and killing many rebels (and one Walter Butler a captain, among the reſt) were at the laſt ſo overcome with multitudes of the rebels, that then and there they, the ſaid lieutenant Gilbert, William Alfry, Thomas Bingham, Robert Graves, Richard Bently, and two other Engliſh ſoldiers

diers were abſolutely ſlain, and the heads of thoſe ſeven carried to Kilkenny by thoſe rebels (their pipes for joy playing before them on horſe-back) and on a market-day which happened to be on the next day following, thoſe heads as triumphs of their victories, there brought out and ſet upon the market-croſs, where the rebels, but eſpecially the women there, and amongſt the reſt Elice Butler, a reputed mother of ſeveral baſtards, yet the daughter of the ſaid Mount Garrot, ſtabed, cut and ſlaſht thoſe heads; the ſaid Elice Butler drawing her ſkein, ſlaſht at the face of the ſaid William Alfry, and hit him on the noſe, and thoſe that could but get a blow or ſtab at thoſe heads, ſeemed to account themſelves happy: and the rebels then and there put a gag in the mouth of the ſaid Thomas Bingham the miniſter, and laying a leaf of the bible before him, bade him preach, ſaying his mouth was open and wide enough, and one of thoſe leud virago's that had no weapons, ſtruck one of the heads ſo with her hand, that the ſame night her hand grew black and blue, rankled, and ſhe was extremely lame with it a quarter of a year after, and that lameneſs and the ſwelling thereof growing to an iſſue, is like to continue till ſhe die: and another of thoſe women that with great rejoicing went and ſaw thoſe heads, did quickly after the ſight thereof fall into ſuch an aſtoniſhment and diſtraction, that for three or four days after ſhe could not ſleep nor reſt, but cried out that ſtill ſhe ſaw thoſe heads before her eyes, which heads being ſaid by the rebels to be the heads of hereticks, were not afforded chriſtian burial, but buried without the city in a croſs high-way altogether in a hole; 1641.

1641. hole, the buriers chopping and cutting the heads with their ſpades as they threw mold upon them. And to make the manner of their burial, and the heads themſelves yet more contemptible; the rebels (over the hole where the heads were laid) ſet up a long ſtick, whereto they fixed papers, that all may take notice of the place: and after, and from that time, the rebellious roguiſh boys, took up, and frequently uſed the oath, 'by the croſs of the ſeven devils heads buried on St. James's-Green.' And further ſay, that upon the teſtimony of a roguiſh boy, that an Engliſhman that was a malſter to one Richard Shaw of Kilkenny, had ſaid, he would believe the devil, as ſoon as the pope; the cruel rebel, the provoſt marſhal Cantwell aforementioned, ſuddenly took and hanged him up in an apple-tree till he died: and further ſaith, that one Uncil Grace, and divers other rebels in Kilkenny, broke open the doors of the cathedral church there, and robbed the ſame church of the chalices, ſurplices, ornaments, books, records and writings there being; and made gunpowder in St. Patrick's church, and digged the tombs and graves in the churches in Kilkenny, under colour of getting up molds whereon to make gunpowder: and theſe deponents have credibly heard, and verily believe, that the rebels at Goran took twenty-five proteſtants, men, women and children, pretending and promiſing to them a convoy to Dungannon, hanged them dead in the way, in a wood near Newroſs, and that the rebels half hanged five more proteſtants at Balliragget, by the command of the ſaid captain Edward Butler, and the ſaid Thomas Cantwell the marſhal, and letting them down again before they were dead, ſuffered

fered them ſomewhat to recover, and then buried them quick: and theſe deponents Thomas Lewis, Patrick Maxwell, further ſay, that, as they have been credibly told by Walter Archer of Kilkenny a rebel, a poor Engliſhman's wife that went out to gather ſticks, at a place about two miles from Kilkenny, was taken and hanged up by the rebels: and the deponents Elizabeth Gilbert, Patrick Maxwell, further ſay, that a poor woman and two children, ſhe being the wife of one Harvey of Balinekill, coming to Kilkenny about Candlemas was twelve month, were then and there aſſaulted and ſet upon by the rebellious inhabitants of that city, and hunted, baited, and drawn with dogs, cruelly ſtabbed with ſkeins, and ſo miſerably uſed, that one of the children died preſently (having the guts plucked out) and the deponent Patrick Maxwell further ſaith, that there were taken out of Graige by the rebels, and hanged to death, one John Stone and his wife and his ſon, William Valentine, Robert Pym and his wife, one of their children of a year and half old, and Thomas White a merchant and his wife (who being great with child, had her belly ripped up after ſhe was hanged, ſo as the child fell out of the cawl alive) Walter Sherly, Mrs. Joan Salter an ancient widow, one John a ſervant to Stone aforenamed; the rebels that hanged them were Garret Forreſtal of Knockive, and Gibbon Forreſtal of Tynyhinch, and the eldeſt ſon of Richard Barron, alias Fitz-Geraldin of Knockeen aforeſaid, and divers others whom ſhe cannot name, all of the county of Caterlagh; which ſaid Robert Pym after he was hanged up twice, proved alive in his grave, and ſtruck his hand upon his breaſt, ſaying, 1641.

'Chriſt

1642 'Chriſt receive my ſoul,' and with thoſe words in his mouth was then and there buried quick; and one of thoſe poor proteſtants at Goran, by name Triſtrum Robinſon, the rebels hanged him twice, thruſt him through with darts, but he ſtill continuing alive, and ſpeaking, they buried him quick: and this deponent Jonas Wheeler farther ſaith, that one Engliſh proteſtant, who was a ſhepherd, and his wife going from Kilkenny towards Ballidownell, the rebels hanged up the poor old man, and going a little off, his wife perceiving breath in her huſband, ſaid unto him, 'oh joy you are alive yet;' which when ſome of the rebels over-hearing, hanged him outright, and dragged him up and down until his bowels fell out, then his wife deſired them to hang her too, but they refuſed. And ſaith, that this deponent aſking the rebels of Kilkenny, how they durſt do what they did, conſidering the king was againſt them? they anſwered, that if the king would not hold with them, they could have forty thouſand to come to aſſiſt them out of France and Spain, and bring ammunition and arms enough, and all things neceſſary, and fight againſt the king and the Engliſh: and the deponent Elizabeth Gilbert further ſaith, that ſhe heard one James Euſtace, a ſervant to the rebel, colonel Cullen, ſay publickly in Mr. Joſeph Wheeler's houſe in Kilkenny, 'let the king take heed, for if they (meaning the Iriſh) had not their own deſires, they would bring in a foreign king;' and one Triſtram Dyer, a proteſtant, was (as his wife told this deponent) murdered in a wood with his own hatchet, and covered with leaves and moſs.

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Examinations

1641.

Examinations touching the apparitions at Portnedown-bridge, within the province of Ulſter.

JAMES SHAW of Market-hill in the county of Armagh, inn-keeper, depoſeth, that many of the Iriſh rebels, in the time of this deponent's reſtraint, and ſtaying among them, told him very often, and that it was a common report that all thoſe that lived about the bridge of Portnedown, were ſo affrighted with the cries and noiſe made there of ſome ſpirits or viſions for revenge, as that they durſt not ſtay but fled away thence, (ſo as they proteſted,) affrighted to Market-hill, ſaying, they durſt not ſtay nor return thither for fear of thoſe cries and ſpirits, but took grounds and made creates in or near the pariſh of Mullabrack. Jurat. Aug. 14, 1642.

Joan, the relict of Gabriel Conſtable, late of Drumard in the county of Armagh, gentleman, depoſeth and ſaith, that ſhe hath often heard the rebels, Owen O Farren, Patrick O Conellan, and divers others of the rebels at Drumard, earneſtly ſay, proteſt and tell one another, that the blood of ſome of thoſe that were knock'd in the heads, and afterwards drowned at Portnedown-bridge, ſtill remained on the bridge, and would not be waſhed away; and that often there appeared viſions or apparitions, ſometimes of men, ſometimes of women, breaſt-high above the water, at or near Portnedown, which did moſt extreamly and fearfully ſcreech and cry out for vengeance againſt the Iriſh that had murdered their bodies there; and that their crys and ſcreeches did ſo terrify the Iriſh thereabouts, that

1641. that none durſt ſtay, nor live longer there, but fled and removed further into the country, and that this was a common report amongſt the rebels there, and that it paſs'd for a truth amongſt them, for any thing ſhe could ever obſerve to the contrary. Jurat. Jan. 1, 1643.

Katherine, the relict of William Coke, late of the county of Armagh, carpenter, ſworn and examined, ſaith, that about the twentieth of December, 1641, a great number of rebels in that county, did moſt barbarouſly drown at that time one hundred and eighty proteſtants, men, women and children in the river, at the bridge of Portnedown; and that about nine days afterwards, ſhe ſaw a viſion or ſpirit in the ſhape of a man, as ſhe apprehended, that appeared in that river, in the place of the drowning, bolt upright breaſt-high, with hands lifted up, and ſtood in that poſture there, until the latter end of lent next following: about which time ſome of the Engliſh army marching in thoſe parts, whereof her huſband was one (as he and they confidently affirmed to this deponent) ſaw the ſpirit or viſion ſtanding upright, and in the poſture aforementioned; but after that time, the ſaid ſpirit or viſion vaniſhed, and appeared no more that ſhe knoweth. And ſhe heard, but ſaw not, that there were other viſions and apparitions, and much ſcreeching and ſtrange noiſe heard in that river at times afterwards. Jurat. Feb. 24, 1643.

Elizabeth, the wife of captain Rice Price, of Armagh, depoſeth and ſaith, that ſhe and other women, whoſe huſbands were murdered, hearing of divers apparitions and viſions which were ſeen near Portnedown-bridge, ſince

ſince the drowning of her children, and the reſt of the proteſtants there, went unto the bridge aforeſaid about twilight in the evening; then and there upon a ſudden appeared unto them a viſion or ſpirit, aſſuming the ſhape of a woman, waſte-high upright in the water, naked, with elevated and cloſed hands, her hair hanging down, very white, her eyes ſeemed to twinkle, and her ſkin as white as ſnow; which ſpirit ſeemed to ſtand ſtraight up in the water, often repeating the word, revenge! revenge! revenge! whereat this deponent and the reſt being put into a ſtrange amazement and affright, walked from the place. Jurat. Jan. 29, 1642. 1641.

Arthur Culm, of Clowoughter, in the county of Cavan, eſq; depoſeth, that he was credibly informed by ſome that were preſent there, that there were thirty women and young children, and ſeven men flung into the river of Belterbert; and when ſome of them offered to ſwim for their lives, they were by the rebels followed in cots, and knocked on the head with poles; the ſame day they hanged two women at Turbert; and this deponent doth verily believe, that Mulmore O Rely, the then ſheriff, had a hand in the commanding the murder of thoſe ſaid perſons, for that he ſaw him write two notes which he ſent to Turbert by Bryan O Rely, upon whoſe coming theſe murders were committed: and thoſe perſons who were preſent alſo affirmed, that the bodies of thoſe thirty perſons drowned did not appear upon the water till about ſix weeks after paſt; as the ſaid Rely came to the town, all the bodies came floating up to the very bridge; thoſe perſons were all formerly ſtayed in the town by his protection, when

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1641. the reſt of their neighbours in the town went away.

Elizabeth Price, wife of Michael Price, of the Newry, depoſeth, that ſir Con Mac-Gennis ſuffered his ſoldiers, the rebels, to kill Mr. Turge, Miniſter of the Newry, and ſeveral other proteſtants; and he, the ſaid ſir Con Mac-Gennis, on his death-bed, was ſo much affrighted with apprehenſion that the ſaid Mr. Turge ſo ſlain, was ſtill in his preſence, as that he commanded no proteſtant from that time ſhould be ſlain, but what ſhould be killed in battle; and after his death, ſir Con Mac-Gennis, his brother, would have obſerved his directions, but one John Mac-Gennis, the young lord of Evah and Monk Crely, were earneſt to have all the reſt of the proteſtants put to death.

Mr. George Creighton, miniſter of Virginia, in the county of Cavan, depoſeth, among other particulars in his examination, that divers women brought into his houſe a young woman almoſt naked, to whom a rogue came upon the way, theſe women being preſent, and required her to give him her money or elſe he would kill her, and ſo drew his ſword; her anſwer was, "you cannot kill me unleſs GOD give you leave, and his will be done:" whereupon the rogue truſt three times at her naked body with his drawn ſword, and yet never pierced her ſkin; whereat he being, as it ſeems, much confounded, went away and left her; and that he ſaw this woman, and heard this particular related by divers women, who were by and ſaw what they reported.

Upon the view of theſe examinations, all taken upon oath, it may eaſily be conjectured

ed how fatally the firſt plot took, how furi- 1641.
ouſly the rebels throughout all parts of the kingdom proceeded on in their barbarous bloody executions, and what were the courſes they held to bring about ſo ſuddenly the univerſal deſtruction of all the Britiſh and proteſtants there planted. It is moſt true that in Munſter and Leinſter (and yet one would ſcarce believe it that conſiders the horrid particulars related in the fore-recited examinations of thoſe two provinces) they were not generally ſo bloody, neither did they begin their work ſo early as in the provinces of Ulſter and Conaught. The ill ſucceſs of the enterpriſe upon the caſtle of Dublin did cool them for a time, put them to a ſtand, and cauſed them to take up new conſels: but when they had once declared themſelves, they did in a very few days ſtrip and deſpoil all the Engliſh ſettled among them, and drove great numbers of them even ſtark naked to ſeveral ports on the ſea-ſide, there to provide themſelves paſſage for England, or otherways moſt miſerably to ſtarve and periſh, as many of them did, being inhumanly denied any kind of relief in thoſe towns under the command of the rebels. And here I muſt not forget to interpoſe this certain truth, that in all the four provinces the horrid cruelties uſed towards the Britiſh, either in their bloody maſſacres, or mercileſs deſpoiling, ſtripping, and extirpation of them, were generally acted in moſt parts of the kingdom before they could gather themſelves together, to make any conſiderable reſiſtance againſt their fury; and before the ſtate had aſſembled their forces, or were enabled by the power of his majeſty's arms to make any in-

1641 roads into the counties poſſeſſed by the rebels: a circumſtance which totally deſtroyeth all thoſe vain pretences and fond recriminations, which they have ſince moſt falſly taken up to palliate this their moſt abominable rebellion. And this is not to be denied, though it be alſo true, that thoſe Britiſh whom they ſuffered to live among them, either upon condition of change of their religion, out of private intereſt, or ſuch as they kept in priſon, were not put to the ſword, until the rebels, in the ſeveral encounters they had with his majeſty's forces, ſuffered loſs of their men, and ſo being enraged therewith at their return home after any diſaſter, they fell furiouſly to take revenge upon ſuch Britiſh, whether men, women, or children, as they held in moſt miſerable captivity with them. How far their madneſs, fury, and moſt implacable malice, did, after the manner of brute beaſts, tranſport them towards the deſtruction of thoſe miſerable harmleſs ſouls they detained among them, doth clearly appear by ſeveral particulars expreſſed in ſeveral examinations. I ſhall here inſert ſome of them taken upon truſt from perſons of good quality and credit, who were long priſoners among them.

The cruelty of the Iriſh in murdering thoſe proteſtants which remained among them when at any time they received any loſs by the Engliſh Forces.

I find in one part of Dr. Maxwell's examination (which I thought not fit wholy to inſert, becauſe it is of great length, and many particulars in it, nothing tending to that purpoſe for which it is formerly mentioned) that about May 1642, when the Scotiſh army under the command of general major Monro, had marched down from Carickfergus, taken in the Newry, beaten the Iriſh out of thoſe parts with the ſlaughter of many of them; ſir Phelim O Neal cauſed five thouſand Britiſh,

tiſh, whom he detained in Armagh, Tyrone, and other parts of the north, to be moſt miſerably murdered in the ſpace of three days: James Shaw, of Market-hill in the county of Armagh, depoſeth and ſaith, that during the time this deponent was in reſtraint, and ſtayed among the rebels, he obſerved and well knew, that the greateſt part of the rebels in the county of Armagh went to beſiege the caſtle of Augher, where they were repulſed, and divers of the rebels of the Sept of O Neals ſlain: in revenge whereof, the grand rebel ſir Phelim O Neal gave direction and warrant to one Mulmory Mac-Donel, a moſt cruel and mercileſs rebel, to kill all the Engliſh and Scotiſh within the pariſhes of Mullebrack, Logilly and Kilcluny; whereupon the ſaid rebel did murder twenty-ſeven Scotiſh and Engliſh proteſtants within muſket-ſhot of this deponent's own houſe: and further ſaith, that in thoſe three pariſhes there have been before that and ſince, by killing, drowning, and ſtraying, put to death above one thouſand five hundred proteſtants within the ſaid three pariſhes. 1641.

William Fitz-Gerald a clerk, of Iriſh birth, dwelling near Armagh, and there reſiding when this rebellion brake out, depoſeth and ſaith, that all places of the north where ſir Phelim O Neal, under the name of general of the catholick army, commanded, were filled with murders of the proteſtants: and that when at Augher, Liſnagarvy, or any other places the rebels received loſs of their men, thoſe that eſcaped, exerciſed their cruelty upon the proteſtants every where at their return: and that about the firſt of May 1642 when ſir Phelim O Neal had notice of the taking of the

1641. Newry by his majeſty's forces, he retired that night in all haſte to the town of Armagh, and the next day as well the town of Armagh as the cathedral church there, and all the villages and houſes in the country round about, together with all proviſions were fired by the rebels; and many men, women and children murdered as well in the town as in the country round about.

There is much more to be ſaid on this ſubject, but I ſhall forbear to rake further into many other foul circumſtances, which would make this rebellion appear far more odious and deteſtable. I ſhall now return to take up the publick affairs of ſtate, where I left them in the hands of the lords juſtices and council, who finding the city to grow daily more and more impeſtered with ſtrangers, by reaſon of the reſort of great numbers of ill affected perſons that daily made repair thereunto; they iſſued out ſeveral other proclamations to prohibit the acceſs of all ſtrangers to the town, and to require ſuch as remained in the city without calling or ſettled habitation, to depart.

Some troops of horſe and regiments of foot raiſed by the lords juſtices and council.

Sir Henry Tichborn being diſpatched with his regiment of foot to Tredagh as is formerly mentioned, the lords juſtices took further order for the preſent raiſing of other foot companies; as likewiſe ſome troops of horſe which might ſerve for the defence of the city of Dublin, now in moſt imminent danger, by reaſon of the approaches made by the forces of the rebels. Sir Charles Coote had a commiſſion for a regiment, which he quickly made up out of the poor ſtript Engliſh, who had repaired from divers parts even naked to the town, and upon the engagements of the

ſtate

ſtate procured cloaths for them. The lord Lambert to whom a commiſſion alſo was granted for the raiſing of another regiment, began alſo to get ſome men together. The earl of Ormonde was now arrived in Dublin, and brought up with him his troop conſiſting of one hundred curaſſiers compleatly armed: ſir Thomas Lucas who had long commanded a troop of horſe in the Low-Countries, and captain Armſtrong, ſometime after, yet very ſeaſonably, came thither: both of them had money impreſted, ſir Thomas Lucas to compleat his troop already brought out of England, captain Armſtrong to raiſe a new troop; captain Yarner alſo arrived ſoon after at Dublin, he was ſent out of England by the lord lieutenant to raiſe and command his troop, which in a very ſhort time he made up about 100 horſe, many perſons then living in the town being deſirous to put themſelves and their horſes into that troop: not long after colonel Crawford came over alſo, and bringing with him letters of recommendation from the Prince Elector then attending his majeſty in Scotland, under whom he had formerly the command of a regiment of dragoons in Germany: the lords juſtices thought fit to give him a regiment which they were then taking order to raiſe and arm out of ſuch townſmen as were fit to bear arms within the city of Dublin; none were to be admitted into it but proteſtants, and out of them they made choice not only of the ſoldiers, but of all the officers belonging to the ſame. And further for the repreſſing of the diſorders daily appearing within the city, and reſtraining the ill affections of the papiſts there inhabiting, they made ſir Charles Coote 1641.

1641. governor of the city, and gave him an allowance of forty ſhillings per diem for the preſent. Now while theſe colonels and captains are beſtirring themſelves in getting their men together under their ſeveral commands, and in training them up to the uſe of their arms: and the governor of the town taking ſtrict order for conſtant watches within, and guards without, to reſtrain the repair of all ſuſpicious and ill-affected perſons: I ſhall in the mean time give an account of the adjournment of the parliament according to the late prorogation made by the lords juſtices, which ſome of the ill-affected members of both houſes endeavoured to make uſe of for the raiſing of further troubles.

Sir Charles Coote made governor of the city of Dublin.

In the month of Auguſt before the rebellion brake out, the parliament was adjourned to the 17th of November next enſuing: now upon the diſcovery of the late conſpiracy for the ſurprize of his majeſty's caſtle of Dublin, the ordinary place of meeting for both houſes of parliament; the lords finding that the fire was begun in the north, and fearing a general revolt of all other parts of the kingdom, reſolved as a matter highly tending to the ſafety and ſecurity of the city and caſtle, to prorogue the parliament, which they did by proclamation then ſet out, until the 24th of February. But two or three days before ſuch of the lords and commons then in the town were to meet of courſe in their ſeveral houſes for declaring the ſaid prorogation, it was generally noiſed abroad that the putting off the parliament was extremely ill taken by the popiſh members of both houſes. Mr. Burk who was one of the committee lately employed into England, came

The adjournment of the parliament.

came to the lord Dillon of Kilkenny weſt, and highly complaining of the injury which, he ſaid was done thereby to the whole nation, hindering them from expreſſing their loyal affections to his majeſty, and ſhewing their deſires to quell this dangerous rebellion, and that they had reaſon to reſent it ſo far, as to complain to the king thereof, as a point of high injuſtice; his lordſhip having acquainted the board herewith, Mr. Burk was preſently ſent for, and he uſed the ſame language in effect there, though with much modeſty. 1641.

Hereupon the lords fell into debate what was fit to be done, and how far it might be thought reaſonable in them to condeſcend to their deſires: ſome were of opinion, that it was fit to diſanul the prorogation, and to give them leave to continue the parliament according to the firſt adjournment made the beginning of Auguſt. They urged the very ill condition of the whole kingdom in regard of the northern rebellion, and that thoſe of the counties of Wicklow and Wexford, as well as ſome other counties in Conaght, had already joined themſelves to them; that this prorogation might peradventure ſo irritate the Pale, and have ſuch an influence into Munſter, as might raiſe them into arms, and ſo put the whole kingdom into a general combuſtion. Others of the board voted ſtrongly for the holding of the prorogation according to the time prefixed by the proclamation, grounding their opinion upon theſe reaſons; firſt, that it would highly trench upon the gravity and wiſdom of the board to alter a reſolution ſo ſolemnly taken up, after a moſt ſerious debate, and publickly The popiſh party much diſcontented at it.

1641. made known throughout the whole kingdom by proclamation; that it would be of moſt dangerous conſequence to bring ſo great a multitude of people to the city in ſuch dangerous times; that the proteſtants and well-affected members of both houſes were for the moſt part either deſtroyed, diſperſed, or ſo ſhut up as they could not repair to the preſent meeting, and that therefore the Iriſh would be ſuperior in number and voices, and ſo wholly carry all things according to their own humour, that conſidering the ſmall forces then in the city, ſuch great numbers as might take occaſion under colour of coming to the parliament, to repair thither, could not be admitted without apparent danger and diſturbance, and that peradventure they might there find as ill affections as they brought, and ſo both joining together, they might eaſily deſtroy the ſtate with the poor remainders of the Engliſh nation in theſe parts: whereupon the lords thought fit to hold to their prorogation, yet to endeavour ſo to attemper and ſweeten it, as thoſe who were moſt averſe, might in ſome meaſure reſt ſatisfied therewith. And therefore, after a long debate of all particular circumſtances, they came at length to this reſolution, that the earl of Ormonde, the maſter of the rolls, and ſir Pierce Croſby, three members of the board, ſhould have a meeting with Mr. Darcy, Mr. Burk, and ſome others of the moſt active powerful members of the houſe of commons, and that they ſhould let them know from the lords, that they have underſtood of their good affections and deſires to do ſomewhat in the houſe that might tend towards the ſuppreſſion of this preſent rebellion, that they approved

approved extreme well thereof: and that 1641.
howſoever they could by no means remove abſolutely the prorogation, yet that they would deſcend ſo far to their ſatisfaction as to limit it to a ſhorter time, and that at preſent they would give them leave to ſit one whole day, in caſe they would immediately fall upon the work of making a clear proteſtation againſt the rebels: as alſo, that they ſhould have liberty, if they pleaſed, to make choice of ſome members of their own houſe to ſend down to treat with the rebels about laying down of arms: and for their grievances, that their lordſhips would with all readineſs receive them, and preſently tranſmit them over to his majeſty for a ſpeedy redreſs: all this was accordingly performed; the meeting was in the gallery at Cork-houſe: thoſe of the houſe of commons ſeemed at firſt to be extremely troubled when they found there was no poſſibility of altering the preſent prorogation: but upon a further debate, when they came to underſtand how ready the lords were to yield to their ſatisfaction, and that the time of the prorogation ſhould be ſhortened, they ſeemed to reſt indifferently contented, undertook to make the proteſtation in ſuch full and ample manner as was deſired, and that they would fall immediately upon it, and make it the work of the whole day.

Upon the 17th of November, the lords and commons met in parliament, which was held in the uſual place of his majeſty's caſtle of Dublin: and for the better ſecurity of the place, as well as of the perſons of thoſe that were to meet, there was a guard of muſketiers appointed to attend during the time of their meeting, but ſuch care taken that they

1641. they ſhould carry themſelves ſo free from giving any offence, as no manner of umbrage might be taken at their attendance there. The houſes were both very thin, there were only in the houſe of peers ſome few Engliſh lords, three or four lords of the Pale, and ſome two or three biſhops. In the houſe of commons, they took into their conſideration upon their firſt meeting, the framing of the proteſtation againſt the rebels. But thoſe of the popiſh party ſpoke ſo ambiguouſly, and handled the matter ſo tenderly, as they could not be drawn to ſtile them by the name of rebels. So as they ſent up unto the lords a very meager cold proteſtation againſt them, which being in their houſe taken into debate, it was ſtrongly conteſted by the proteſtant lords that they ſhould be ſtiled rebels, but that was as ſtifly oppoſed by the others. They therefore fell upon a mean betwixt both, which gave an accommodation, ſaying, "they had rebelliouſly and traiterouſly raiſed arms;" and ſo both parties being reaſonably ſatisfied, the proteſtation was drawn up and returned back to the houſe of commons in this tenour as followeth.

The proteſtation and declaration of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons in parliament aſſembled.

WHEREAS the happy and peaceable eſtate of this realm hath been of late, and is ſtill interrupted by ſundry perſons ill-affected to the peace and tranquility thereof, who, contrary to their duty and loyalty to his majeſty, and againſt the laws

laws of God, and the fundamental laws of the realm, have traiterouſly and rebelliouſly raiſed arms, have ſeized upon ſome of his majeſty's forts and caſtles, and diſpoſſeſſed many of his majeſty's faithful ſubjects of their houſes, lands and goods, and have ſlain many of them, and committed other cruel and inhumane outrages, and acts of hoſtility within this realm. 1641

The ſaid lords and commons, in Parliament aſſembled, being juſtly moved with a right ſenſe of the ſaid diſloyal rebellious proceedings and actions of the perſons aforeſaid, do hereby proteſt and declare, that they the ſaid lords and commons, from their hearts, do deteſt and abhor the ſaid abominable actions, and that they ſhall and will to their utmoſt power maintain the rights of his majeſty's crown, and government of this realm, and peace and ſafety thereof, as well againſt the perſons aforeſaid, their abettors, adherents, as alſo againſt all foreign princes, potentates, and other perſons, and attempts whatſoever; and in caſe the perſons aforeſaid do not repent of their aforeſaid actions, and lay down arms, and become humble ſuitors to his majeſty for grace and mercy, in ſuch convenient time, and in ſuch manner and form as by his majeſty, or the chief governour or governours, and council of this realm ſhall be ſet down. The ſaid lords and commons do further proteſt and declare, that they will take up arms, and will, with their lives and fortunes, ſuppreſs them, and their attempts, in ſuch a way, as by the authority of the parliament of this kingdom,

1641. kingdom, with the approbation of his moſt excellent majeſty, or of his majeſty's chief governour of governours of this kingdom, ſhall be thought moſt effectual.

Copia vera Exam. per

Phil. Percival.

Cleric. Parliament.

Both houſes of parliament ſat two days, and the time of the prorogation being ſhortned unto the 11th of January, the lords made choice of the lord viſcount Caſtelo to go into England, to carry over their deſires to his majeſty, concerning the means they thought fit to be uſed for the quenching this preſent rebellion. And beſides thoſe inſtructions formerly mentioned, he had, as I heard, from the popiſh lords ſome, more private, which were to negotiate the ſtaying ſuch forces as were intended to be ſent out of England for that end.

The houſes of parliament ſend to treat with the rebels.

Both houſes joined together to appoint certain lords and ſome members of the houſe of commons to go down to the northern rebels, to underſtand the cauſe of their riſing in arms: and referred them to the lords juſtices for their inſtructions, which accordingly they received, together, with a commiſſion under the great ſeal. But the rebellion having a far deeper root than was at that time diſcovered, this commiſſion was of little operation, and the intended treaty ſoon vaniſhed. The northern rebels were then ſo puffed up with their late victories over the poor ſurpriſed

priſed, unreſiſting Engliſh in thoſe parts, and had ſo deeply drenched their hands in the blood of thoſe innocents, as they thought to carry the whole kingdom before them; and therefore would yield to no treaties, but in a moſt barbarous manner tore the order of parliament, together with the letter ſent unto them, and returned a moſt ſcornful anſwer, fully expreſſing thereby how far they were from any thought of laying down arms, or entertaing any overtures towards an accommodation. 1641.

Within a few days after the adjournment of the parliament, the lord Dillon of Caſtelo, accompanied with the lord Taffe, embarked for England, but by a moſt impetuous ſtorm were driven into Scotland, where they landed and went up to London. At the town of Ware, their papers were ſeized upon by directions from the parliament of England, and their perſons committed unto ſafe cuſtody. Mr. Thomas Burk went over much about the ſame time, and certainly upon the ſame errand: when the unhappy breach began firſt betwixt the king and the parliament of England, and that his majeſty thought fit to retire to York, thoſe two lords found means to make an eſcape, and all three conſtantly followed the court, where, in thoſe high diſtempers that afterwards happened in England, they eaſily found means to ingratiate themſelves, and had the opportunity to do thoſe good offices for their countrymen which brought on the ceſſation of arms with them in due time.

The lords juſtices and council by letters bearing date about the 20th of November, gave unto the lord lieutenant a more certain and Letters written to the lord lieutenant.

1641. and full account of the ſtate of the kingdom, than they could any ways do at the firſt breaking out of the rebellion, and thereby making known the very ill condition of their preſent affairs, they moved that the ſupplies of men, money, commanders, and arms, mentioned in their former letters, might be with all ſpeed ſent over unto them, and that his lordſhip would preſently repair hither in his own perſon to undertake the management of the war. About the 10th of the month of November, their lordſhips received an anſwer from the lord lieutenant to their former letters of the 25th of October; whereby he gave them to underſtand, that he had communicated their letters to the lords of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council, and that by order from their lordſhips, he had acquainted both houſes of parliament with them; that he had alſo ſent to his majeſty, ſtill continuing at Edinburgh, in Scotland, to repreſent the condition of their affairs, and that he underſtood his majeſty had received ſome advertiſements out of the north of Ireland, of the preſent rebellion there: his lordſhip alſo farther let them know, that his majeſty had referred the whole buſineſs of Ireland to the parliament of England; that they had undertaken the charge and management of the war; that they had declared they ſhould be ſpeedily and vigorouſly aſſiſted, and had deſigned for their preſent ſupplies the ſum of 50000l. and had taken order for making of all further proviſions neceſſary for the ſervice as may appear by the order of parliament made there at that time, and tranſmitted over by the lord lieutenant, together with his ſaid letters unto the lords juſtices, by whoſe command

mand it was re-printed at Dublin, November 12, 1641, as here followeth, being intitled, 1641.

An order of the lords and commons in this preſent parliament of England, concerning Ireland.

THE lords and commons in this preſent parliament, being advertiſed of the dangerous conſpiracy and rebellion in Ireland, by the treacherous and wicked inſtigation of Romiſh prieſts and jeſuits, for the bloody maſſacre and deſtruction of all proteſtants living there, and other his majeſty's loyal ſubjects of Engliſh blood, though of the Romiſh religion, being antient inhabitants within ſeveral counties, and parts of that realm, who have always, in former rebellions, given teſtimony of their fidelity to this crown: and for the utter depriving of his royal majeſty, and the crown of England, from the government of that kingdom (under pretence of ſetting up the popiſh religion) have thereupon taken into their ſerious conſideration, how thoſe miſchievous attempts might be moſt ſpeedily, and effectually prevented, wherein the honour, ſafety, and intereſt of this kingdom, are moſt nearly and fully concerned. Wherefore they do hereby declare, that they do intend to ſerve his majeſty with their lives and fortunes, for the ſuppreſſing of this wicked rebellion, in ſuch a way, as ſhall be thought moſt effectual, by the wiſdom and authority of parliament: and thereupon have ordered and provided for a preſent ſupply of money, and raiſing the number of ſix thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, to be ſent from England, being the full proportion deſired

1642. fired by the lords juſtices, and his majeſty's council reſident in that kingdom, with a reſolution to add ſuch further ſuccours, as the neceſſity of thoſe affairs ſhall require. They have alſo reſolved of providing arms and munition, not only for thoſe men, but likewiſe for his majeſty's faithful ſubjects in that kingdom, with ſtore of victuals, and other neceſſaries, as there ſhall be occaſion, and that theſe proviſions may more conveniently be tranſported thither, they have appointed three ſeveral ports of this kingdom, that is to ſay, Briſtol, Weſt-Cheſter, and one other in Cumberland, where the magazines, and ſtore-houſes ſhall be kept for the ſupply of the ſeveral parts of Ireland. They have likewiſe reſolved to be humble mediators to his moſt excellent majeſty, for the encouragement of thoſe Engliſh, or Iriſh, who ſhall upon their own charges, raiſe any number of horſe, or foot, for his ſervice againſt the rebels, that they ſhall be honourably rewarded with lands of inheritance, in Ireland, according to their merits. And for the better inducing the rebels to repent of their wicked attempts, they do hereby commend it to the lord lieutenant of Ireland, or in his abſence, to the lord deputy, or lords juſtices there, according to the power of the commiſſion granted them in that behalf, to beſtow his majeſty's gracious pardon to all ſuch as within a convenient time (to be declared by the lord lieutenant, lord deputy, or lords juſtices, and council of that kingdom) ſhall return to their due obedience, the greateſt part whereof, they conceive have been ſeduced upon falſe grounds, by the cunning and ſubtle practices of ſome of the moſt malignant rebels, enemies to this ſtate, and

to

to the reformed religion; and likewiſe to beſtow ſuch rewards, as ſhall be thought fit, and publiſhed by the ſaid lord lieutenant, lord deputy, or lords juſtices and council, upon all thoſe who ſhall arreſt the perſons, or bring in the heads of ſuch traytors, as ſhall be perſonally named in any proclamation publiſhed by the ſtate there. And they do hereby exhort, and require all his majeſty's loving ſubjects, both in this, and in that kingdom, to remember their duty and conſcience to God, and his religion, and the great and imminent danger which will involve this whole kingdom in general, and themſelves in particular, if this abominable treaſon be not timely ſuppreſſed; and therefore with all readineſs, bounty, and chearfulneſs to confer their aſſiſtance in their perſons, or eſtates, to this ſo important and neceſſary a ſervice for the common good of all. 1641

Jo. Brown, cleric. parliament.

About the ſame time the lord lieutenant finding that he could not procure ſo ſpeedy a diſpatch of all things neceſſary for the ſervice of Ireland, as would enable him preſently to repair thither in his own perſon; made the earl of Ormonde lieutenant general of the forces there, and ſent him over a commiſſion for the ſame. And the ſaid earl did within few days after receive a letter from his majeſty out of Scotland, wherein he was graciouſly pleaſed to let him know it was his pleaſure to confer upon him that charge. There was then likewiſe brought over the ſum of 20000l. from the parliament; the coin which arrived here was all in Spaniſh pieces of eight which went for four pence in a piece here more than

Commiſſion granted to the earl of Ormond, to be lieutenant-general of the forces in Ireland.

1641. in England; and this gain the parliament was content the merchants that undertook the tranſportations ſhould make at that time in regard of the charge and venture they undertook to ſtand to: it arrived moſt ſeaſonably, even when all that little money they had was quite ſpent in raiſing and paying the new companies, and that they were wholly deſtitute of all means to draw in any contributions towards the relieving of their preſent neceſſities.

Commiſſions iſſued out for the examination upon oath of the loſſes of the Britiſh, and the cruelties exerciſed by the Iriſh upon them.

There continued daily to repair unto the city of Dublin, a great number of poor diſtreſſed Engliſh, who had been moſt barbarouſly ſtripped, robbed, and deſpoiled of all their goods and ſubſtance, by the rebels. Now that it might appear what their loſſes were, what cruelties were acted, what murders committed, and who were the chief actors in them throughout the ſeveral provinces: the lords juſtices and council thought fit to iſſue out a commiſſion under the great ſeal, directed to certain of the clergy to take upon oath the ſeveral examinations of all ſuch perſons, that having ſuffered by this preſent rebellion would think fit to repair unto them, as will appear by the commiſſion itſelf, a copy whereof I have thought fit to inſert.

CHARLES by the grace of God, king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To our well-beloved Henry Jones, dean of Kilmore, Roger Puttock, William Huthock, Randal Adams, John Sterne, William Aldrich, Henry Brereton, and John Watſon, clerks, greeting; whereas divers wicked and diſloyal people, have lately riſen in arms in ſeveral parts of this kingdom, and have robbed and ſpoiled many of our good ſubjects,

ſubjects, Britiſh and proteſtants, who have been ſeparated from their ſeveral habitations, and ſcattered in moſt lamentable manner: and for as much as it is needful to take due examination concerning the ſame; know ye that we repoſing ſpecial truſt and confidence in your care, diligence, and provident circumſpection, have nominated and appointed you to be our commiſſioners, and do hereby give unto you, or any two or more of you, full power and authority, from time to time, to call before you and examine upon oath on the holy evangeliſts (which hereby we authorize you or any two or more of you to adminiſter) as well all ſuch perſons as have been robbed and deſpoiled, as all the witneſſes that can give teſtimony therein, what robberies and ſpoils have been committed on them ſince the 22d of October laſt, or ſhall hereafter be committed on them, or any of them: what the particulars were or are, whereof they were or ſhall be ſo robbed or ſpoiled, to what value, by whom, what their names are, or where they now or laſt dwelt that committed thoſe robberies, or what day or night the ſaid robberies or ſpoils committed, or to be committed, were done: what traiterous or diſloyal words, ſpeeches, or actions were then or at any other time uttered or commited by thoſe robbers or any of them, and how often, and all other circumſtances concerning the ſaid particulars and every of them: and you our ſaid commiſſioners are to reduce to writing all the examinations which you, or any two or more of you, ſhall take as aforeſaid: and the ſame to return to our juſtices and council of this our realm of Ireland, under the hands and ſeals of any two or more of you as aforeſaid.

1641.

1641 ſaid. Witneſs our right truſty and well beloved counſellors, ſir William Parſons, knight and baronet, and ſir John Borlace, knight, our juſtices of our ſaid realm of Ireland: Dublin 23d of December, in the ſeventeenth year of our reign.

Carleton.

The commiſſioners above nominated, did very ſeriouſly addreſs themſelves to this work, employing their pains therein with great diligence and faithfulneſs; and have ſo well performed the charge impoſed upon them as that by ſeveral examinations, many principal gentlemen of good eſtates were diſcovered to be the chief actors in the depredations of the Britiſh, and to have committed many moſt horrid murders and other notorious cruelties which through their induſtry will now remain upon record, but had otherways been concealed from poſterity, and wrapt up in oblivion. The like commiſſions were in a ſhort time after ſent into Munſter and Ulſter: in the province of Munſter, the commiſſioners took great care in the execution of it, many examinations of high concernment were taken by virtue thereof, though they remain as yet concealed, and not returned up according as is required by the ſaid commiſſions.

A weekly faſt appointed.

Towards the latter end of November, the lords juſtices and council conſidering the miſerable deſolations brought upon the whole kingdom, and the further calamities threatened by war and famine, did by a proclamation ſet forth in print, give ſtrict charge and command, that upon every Friday a public and religious faſt ſhould be devoutly and piouſly obſerved, in and through the whole city and ſuburbs

1641.

ſuburbs of Dublin, by all his Majeſty's people therein, and that divine ſervice and ſermons be celebrated and heard upon the ſaid day weekly, in every cathedral, and other church and chappel in the ſaid city and ſuburbs thereof: and this to be performed as is expreſſed in the ſaid proclamation, to the end that the ſevere wrath and indignation of almighty God may be averted from this kingdom, his divine aid and aſſiſtance implored, and that ſome relief in theſe calamitous times, may the better be afforded, to ſuch miſerable perſons as theſe traytors, by their rapine and cruelty, have deprived of their fortunes, and ſent naked and almoſt famiſhed up to this city.

The approach of the rebels to Tredagh.

The lords juſtices and council being advertiſed of the near approach of the rebels to Tredagh, prepared to ſend down ſupplies both of men and munition, for the re-inforcement of that garriſon: there were already deſigned ſix hundred foot and a troop of horſe for that ſervice, and they were almoſt in a readineſs to march, when an expreſs from ſir Henry Tichbourn came up to the earl of Ormonde, to let him know the rebels had that day, being the 21ſt of November, appeared within ſight of the town. He conceived they would preſently have ſet down before it, but they advanced no further that day, only while their forces made a ſtand there, they ſent down a party of thirteen hundred foot to Millifond, the lord Moore's houſe, which their deſign was ſuddenly to ſurpriſe; but contrary to their expectation, they found there twenty four muſketiers and fifteen horſemen, who very ſtoutly defended the houſe as long as their powder laſted. The horſemen when they ſaw themſelves beſet ſo as they could be no further ſer-

1641. viceable to the place, opened the gate, iſſued out and made their paſſage thorough the midſt of the rebels, and ſo, notwithſtanding the oppoſition they made, eſcaped ſafe to Tredagh. The foot having refuſed to accept of the quarter at the firſt offered, reſolved to make good the place to the laſt man; they endured ſeveral aſſaults, ſlew a hundred and forty of the rebels, before their powder failed them: and at laſt they gave up the place upon promiſe of quarter, which was not kept, for ſome of them were killed in cold blood, all were ſtripped, and two old decriped men ſlain, the houſe ranſacked, and all the goods carried away.

Supplies both of horſe and foot ſent for the relief of Tredagh.

Upon the receipt of ſir Henry Tichbourn's letter, the lords preſently took order for the marching away of the ſix hundred men, together with a troop of horſe towards Tredagh: they left not the town till the 27th of November, and ſuch was the negligence of the captains and diſorders of the ſoldiers, as notwithſtanding they had been three days in readineſs to march, they went no further that night than Swords, a village ſix miles diſtant from Dublin: the command of the foot was committed to ſerjeant major Roper, and of the horſe to ſir Patrick Weames, who was appointed with fifty of the earl of Ormonde's troop to march with thoſe ſix companies to Tredagh. The very day of their departure from Dublin, there was an advertiſement brought unto the lords, that ſome forces of the rebels were drawn on this ſide the river of the Boyne, and attended with deſign to intercept their paſſage: whereupon the earl of Ormonde by direction from the lords, diſpatched

ed an expreſs to give them now upon their march notice thereof, and after to paſs on to ſir Henry Tichbourn, to let him know as much; and that the recruits deſigned for the re-inforcement of his gariſon being now upon their march, it highly imported him to take ſpecial care for the ſecuring of their paſſage. And next day his lordſhip received an anſwer from him of that letter, with aſſurance that he would not fail to march out with competent forces to meet them upon the way, which he did that very day accordingly perform, but they marching no further than Balrudry, and ſo lying that night eight miles ſhort of Tredagh, he miſſed of them, and ſo went not out (by what accident or upon what reaſon I know not) the day following till the news of the defeat met him at the very gate of the town where he ſtood with his men in a readineſs to march towards them: the men being altogether untrained and unaccuſtomed to travel, and failing of proviſions by the way, which for their money they could not by any means procure from the country people as they marched along, were very much diſcontented, and being ſomewhat tired with their journey, went on next day, but in much diſorder, ſo careleſs, and ſo little apprehenſive of any danger, as ſome had arms, but no munition about them; others for their own eaſe committed the carriage of both to the carts. As they paſſed through Gormanſtone, the major went in to give a viſit to the lord of Gormanſtone, who told him that there were ſome numbers of men lay in the way with an intent to interrupt their paſſage. And this his lordſhip knew very well, for the very night before (as 1641.

1642. Mr. Creighton affirms in his examination) one of his grooms went to Slaine where the rebels were then lodged, and called them out of their beds to be in a readineſs to come and encounter the Engliſh forces now upon their march. The major had likewiſe other advertiſements to the ſame purpoſe, which he neglected, not ſo much as acquainting his captains therewith, as ſome of them afterwards affirmed; he only cauſed three ſcouts out of the troop to be ſent abroad to make diſcovery whether the paſſages were clear; two of them returned back a little before he came to the bridge of Julian's town, aſſuring him all was clear; the other went on to a houſe within one quarter of a mile of the place where the rebels lay, and while he attended there for his breakfaſt, a boy belonging to the houſe, took his horſe, and riding to the rebels gave them notice of the near approach of our forces: the horſe paſſed the bridge, and the foot following, turned up into a field on the left-hand of the lane, where, by reaſon of a great miſt that ſuddenly fell, they diſcovered not the rebels, till they were almoſt within muſket-ſhot of them. The major drew his men preſently into battalia, but the horſe (as ſome of the foot that eſcaped affirm) wheeled about without charging any part of the rebels forces, who now furiouſly approached with a great ſhout; and a lieutenant giving out the unhappy word of counter-march, all the men poſſeſſed as it were with a pannick fear, began ſomewhat confuſedly to march back, but were ſo much amazed with a ſecond ſhout given by the rebels (who ſeeing them in diſorder followed cloſe on) as notwithſtanding they had gotten into a ground

The defeat of the forces ſent for the relief of Tredagh.

ground of great advantage, they could not be perſuaded to ſtand a charge, but betook themſelves to their heels, and ſo the rebels fell ſharply on, as their manner is upon the execution. 1642.

Sir Patrick Weames, without the loſs of one horſe, paſſed on ſafely unto Tredagh: the major with two of the captains and about a hundred of their men, made an eſcape thither likewiſe: the other three captains, with all the reſt of the ſoldiers that were Engliſh, were there cut off; they ſpared very few or none that fell into their hands, but ſuch as were Iriſh, whoſe lives they preſerved: the arms of the whole ſix hundred they poſſeſſed themſelves of, as likewiſe of all their munition and carriages: and ſo highly were the rebels encouraged with this defeat given to his majeſty's forces, as the whole Pale began preſently to waver; they thought the kingdom their own, and that the Engliſh would in all parts fall before them, as thoſe poor ill conducted ſheep had unhappily done. And this is a true relation (as near as I could collect it from the mouths of thoſe that were preſent) of that famous victory ſo much boaſted of by the Iriſh, whereupon the inexperience of the Engliſh commanders, and the diſorders of the common ſoldiers, who were then but newly taken up, and had never ſeen any ſervice, contributed far more than any ſkill or courage ſhewed by the rebels, which they had only opportunity at that time to expreſs by a loud ſhout. Beſides, they were treble their number, and had for their leaders, Roger Moore, Hugh Birne, and Philip O Rely; the two laſt perſons, who had been trained in the

1641. the wars abroad under the Spaniſh diſcipline, and were of greateſt experience among them; they brought down a great part of thoſe forces out of the counties of Cavan and Monaghan; and as ſoon as they came within the river of Boyne, great numbers of the ordinary churles of the Pale adjoyned themſelves unto their men, and ſo made up a body ſufficient to perform that ſervice.

The news of this unhappy defeat was brought the very ſame day, being Monday the 29th of November at evening, to the lords juſtices as they ſate in council: it troubled them very much; and, as it was a matter of great rejoicing among the popiſh inhabitants of the city, ſo it bred a general ſorrow and conſternation among the Engliſh and proteſtants: it happened in a very ill ſeaſon, the late made colonels were but then in raiſing of their men: and ſuch companies as were compleated, were by the lords the ſame day of the marching of the ſix hundred men to Tredagh, commanded out under Sir Charles Coote, into the county of Wicklow, for the repreſſing of the inſolencies of the Birns and the Tools towards the poor Engliſh, whom they began to fall upon moſt furiouſly, ſtripping, murdering, and driving them all out of that territory as ſoon as they had taken in the king's fort, in that county, called Carew's fort, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the chief places of ſtrength belonging to the Engliſh gentlemen there: he marched to the town of Wicklow, where he cauſed ſome few men and one woman to be executed, they being found, upon examination, guilty of the late ſpoils committed moſt barbarouſly upon the Engliſh there; and the very clothes of an Engliſh

Sir Charles Coote's expedition into the county of Wicklow.

Engliſh woman that was ſtripped, being found upon the back of that Iriſh woman that was there hanged. In his return, Luke Toole, with near a thouſand Iriſh under his command, encountered him, but he quickly made them fly, and take to the next bogg, with the loſs of ſome few of their men: and ſo he returned with all poſſible ſpeed to Dublin, the lords having ſent him notice of the late defeat given to the forces ſent to Tredagh: as ſoon as he arrived, he applied himſelf very carefully to the ſecuring of the town, which now began to be more deſperately threatened than ever, by the near approaches of the rebels: and ſo great were the diſorders then in the city, ſo inconſiderable the forces raiſed, the Engliſh Inhabitants ſo ſtrangely diſmayed, the papiſts ſo highly raiſed in ſpirit and courage, as had the commanders of the rebels drawn thoſe forces together as they had in readineſs on both ſides the river of Boyne for the ſiege of Tredagh, and ſo marching up to Dublin, had taken the advantage of the preſent diſtractions, and forward affections which they would have undoubtedly found there to aſſiſt them, they had in all human probability made themſelves maſters of the city, and might ſo ſtraitly have begirt the caſtle, as would within a very ſhort time have endangered the ſurrender of it; but it pleaſed God to infatuate their counſels: the ſtrong opinion they had that they ſhould preſently carry Tredagh, and ſo poſſeſs themſelves of all the arms and munition they had in that town, cauſed them to fix their reſolutions there, and to ſet up their reſt upon the obtaining that place. In this, as in many other wonderful acts of Divine Providence which I then obſerved 1641.

1641. ſerved with great admiration, it pleaſed God to appear even miraculouſly in the preſervation of the city and caſtle of Dublin, with the poor remainders of Engliſh and proteſtants, who had there taken ſanctuary.

The defection of the lords and chief gentlemen within the Engliſh Pale.

And now the lords and gentlemen of the Pale, thought it high time to diſcover themſelves and their affections to the cauſe: they certainly had not only long entertained a defection in their thoughts, but were, as the ſeveral forementioned examinations teſtify, the firſt contrivers and bringers in of the northern rebels into this execrable plot; they had now likewiſe drawn them into the Pale, and therefore they could not now hope much longer to walk under a maſk, and entertain the ſtate with further profeſſions of their loyalty: they had gotten a competent proportion of arms and munition out of his majeſty's ſtore into their own poſſeſſion: they ſaw now the northern rebels advanced within the river of Boyne, with very conſiderable forces to ſtrengthen their party, and by the late encounter and ſucceſsful victory they had therein, they pleaſed their fancies with confident conceits of certain prevailing, if they would now declare themſelves by a publick conjunction in the common cauſe, and raiſing ſuch numbers of men and quantities of proviſion, as the plentiful circuit of the Pale did afford, would proſecute the war ſo happily begun, and ſo ſucceſsfully managed hitherto.

Theſe, and ſeveral other conſiderations, working very powerfully among the lords and chief gentlemen of the Pale, they did, within very few days after the late defeat, ſolemnly proceed on to the actual conſummation of their long meditated revolt. For the manner,

manner, place, time, and all other circumſtances, I ſhall refer the reader to this enſuing relation, given in upon oath, March 1641, before ſir Robert Meredith, knight, chancellor of the exchequer, in the examination of Edward Dowdall, eſq; a gentleman of the Pale, one very well eſteemed among them, one that was preſent at all their meetings, and deeply engaged in all their counſels and actions. 1641.

The manner of the conjunction of the lords and chief gentlemen of the Engliſh Pale with the northern rebels, expreſſed in the examination of Edward Dowdall, eſq;

He depoſeth, that ſome four or five days after the defeat of the Engliſh ſoldiers at the bridge of Gellianſtown, there iſſued a warrant from the lord of Gormanſtone, to the ſheriff of the county, for a general meeting of all the county at Dulick. But the place of meeting was afterwards changed to the hill of Crofty, where all the lords and gentry of the country met, viz. the earl of Fingale, the lord viſcount Gormanſtone, the lord of Slaine, the lord of Lowth, the lord of Dunſany, the lord of Trimbleſtone, the lord Netterville. And of the gentry, ſir Patrick Barnwall, Sir Chriſtopher Bellow, Patrick Barnwall of Kilbrew, Nicholas Darcy of Plattin, James Bath of Acharn, Garret Ailmer the lawyer, Cuſake of Gormanſtone, William Malone of Leſmullin, Sedgrave of Kileglan, Linch of the Knos, Lynam of Adamſtown, Laurence Dowdal of Athlumney, Nicholas Dowdal of Brownſton, this examinate's brother, and him this examinate, with a multitude of others, to the number of a thouſand perſons at the leaſt, whoſe names he, this examinate, cannot for the preſent call to mind. And after about two or three hours ſpent upon the ſaid hill of Crofty, by the lords and gentry aforeſaid, there came towards them, colonel Mohowne,

1641. Mohowne, Philip O Rely, Hugh Boy-Rely, Roger Moore, Hugh Birne, and captain Fox, attended on with a guard of muſketiers: and this examinate ſaith, that as ſoon as the parties drew near unto the ſaid hill, the lords and gentry of the Pale rode towards them, and the lord of Gormanſtone, being one of the firſt, ſpake unto them, and demanded of them, why, and for what reaſon, they came armed into the Pale? unto which Roger Moore made preſent anſwer, that the ground of their coming thither, and taking up arms, was for the freedom and liberty of their conſciences, the maintenance of his majeſty's prerogative, in which they underſtood he was abridged, and the making the ſubjects in this kingdom as free as thoſe in England were; whereupon the ſaid lord of Gormanſtone deſired to underſtand from them truly and faithfully, whether thoſe were not pretences, and not the true grounds indeed of their ſo doing; and likewiſe whether they had not ſome other private ends of their own? which being by all denied, upon profeſſion of their ſincerity, his lordſhip, the lord of Gormonſtone then told them: ſeeing theſe be your true ends, we will likewiſe join with you therein; unto which courſe all agreed. And thereupon it was publickly and generally declared, that whoſoever ſhould deny to join with them, or refuſe to aſſiſt them therein, they would account him as an enemy, and to the utmoſt of their power labour his deſtruction. And this examinate ſaith, that after the agreement ſo made as aforeſaid, there iſſued another warrant to the ſheriff of the county of Meath, to ſummon all the lords and gentry

Some of the leaders among the northern rebels, who firſt joined thoſe of the Pale.

of

of the county of Meath, to be at the hill of Taragh, about a week after; and accordingly there met at the ſame place the earl of Fingale, the lord of Gormanſtone, and the reſt of the lords and gentlemen aforenamed, together with ſir Thomas Nugent, and Nicholas Plunket the lawyer, Birford the lawyer, and a multitude of others; and the work of that day was firſt to make anſwer to a ſummons made by the ſtate for calling of the lords unto Dublin; which anſwer was brought ready drawn by the lord of Gormanſtone, and preſented by his lordſhip, and being peruſed by the ſaid council at law, was ſigned by the lords. 1641.

In this manner was this great tranſaction moſt ſolemnly conſummated betwixt Leinſter, and Ulſter; Valence and Brabant, as ſir Phelim O Neale ſtiles them in his characteriſtical letter before mentioned, ſent to Owen Roe O Neale in Flanders, were now publickly united together in that great aſſembly. The lord viſcount Gormanſtone, on the one ſide, and Roger Moore on the other, had both been long tampering about the drawing of this moſt important work to the form it now received, they had at length brought it unto perfection, they two had the glory of it, and appeared the great public inſtruments of this powerful union.

The endeavours of thoſe of the Pale to ſtrengthen their party againſt the power of the ſtate.

The lords and chief gentlemen of the Pale, having thus far declared themſelves, became ſo high and preſuming, as they little valued what was done or commanded by the ſtate at Dublin. They now wholly applyed their endeavours to make ſuch preparatives towards the war, as might ſtrengthen their party, which as it now ſtood in conjunction with

1641. with the northern rebels, they beheld as invincible, and their power not to be reſiſted by the inconſiderable forces drawn together by the lords juſtices and council at Dublin: ſeveral gentlemen who in the ſeveral counties of the Pale were made captains, and had received arms from the ſtate for their companies, departed from their obedience, and addreſſed themſelves and their companies wholly to the ſervice of the rebels. Nicholas White, Eſq; ſon and heir to ſir Nicholas White, of Leſlip, was the firſt that gave the example about the 2d of December: but he carried the matter ſo handſomely, as his company ran away to the rebels, as he pretended, without his conſent, or even his knowledge, any longer time before their departure, than to give him opportunity to come and acquaint the ſtate therewith, and his own diſability to hinder the ſame: but before it was poſſible to uſe any means of prevention, the men were all gone with their arms and munition to the rebels; many of the other captains deſired no ſuch fine cover for their intentions, but delivered themſelves and their arms up to be diſpoſed as they ſhould direct without any further ſcruple or compliment to the ſtate: whereupon the lords finding how notoriouſly they were abuſed by the very great confidence repoſed in ſuch gentlemen of the pale, as being made captains, had received arms from them, and perceiving what courſe they began now to ſteer, and how they were reſolved to employ their own arms againſt them, they took ſuch order, and with ſuch celerity and deligence made ſtay of ſeveral of thoſe arms, which were delivered out for the uſe of the pale, as of the one thouſand ſeven hundred

dred arms distributed among the several counties thereof, they recovered again into their hands nine hundred and fifty. 1641.

And now by reason the northern rebels had settled their camp within the river of Boyne, and so lay betwixt Tredagh and the city of Dublin, all intercourse in the pale was interrupted, the passages stopt up, and the lords justices and council understood very little or nothing of any proceedings held there. They therefore finding their dangers daily to increase through the near approach of the rebels unto the city of Dublin, the continual affronts, and new scorns the state daily received from them, their own want of strength to repress their bold attempts, or to preserve the poor English round about them out of their bloody hands, resolved now in these their high extremities, to try the effects of those large protestations and great professions of loyalty the lords of the pale had lately made unto them, and to give them a fair opportunity of rendering a most acceptable service to his majesty and the state here. For this end therefore they determined to call a grand council of all the lords which resided within any convenient distance of the city of Dublin: clearly and freely to represent unto them the ill condition of their affairs, and how highly it imported them in respect of their own particular safety, as well as for the preservation of the whole kingdom, not only to contribute their best advice and council, but even all the forces they could any ways raise, towards the beating of the northern rebels out of the pale. Several letters of summons were accordingly writ and sent away to the earl of Fingale, the lord viscount Gormanstone,

The reasons why the state summoned the grand council of all the lords of the pale, and others then in the city of Dublin.

1641. and the reſt of the lords of the pale: the tenour of them here enſueth.

A copy of the letter written by the Lords Juſtices and Council to the Lords of the Pale.

AFTER our very hearty commendations to your lordſhip; for as much as we have preſent occaſion to confer with you, concerning the preſent eſtate of the kingdom, and the ſafety thereof in theſe times of danger: we pray and require your lordſhip to be with us here on the eighth day of this month, at which time others of the peers are alſo to be here: and this being to no other end, we bid your lordſhip very heartily farewel. From his majeſty's caſtle of Dublin the 3d of December, 1641.

Your very loving friends,

William Parſons,
John Borlace,
Ormond Offory,
Ant. Medenſis,
Robert Dillon,
Adam Loftus,
George Shirly,
John Temple,
Robert Meredith.

To our very good lord
George earl of Kildare.

The like letters *eodem die*, to theſe ſeveral perſons following.

Earl of Ormonde,
Earl of Antrim,
Earl of Fingale,
Viſ. Gormanſtone,
Viſ. Nettervile,
Viſ. Fitzwilliam,
Lord Trimbleſton,
Lord Dunſany,
Lord Slaine,
Lord of Howth,
Lord Lowth,
Lord Lambert.

Theſe

Theſe letters were preſently ſent away: but the lords of the pale being otherways engaged, and having before, or much about the time they came unto their hands (though the lords knew very little, and that very uncertainly of it) made that public combination with the Ulſter rebels before mentioned, durſt no more adventure their perſons within the city of Dublin: but after their meeting at the hill of Crofty, appointed another meeting at the hill of Tarah, and from thence they ſent an anſwer unto the lords, which as Mr. Dowdall teſtifies, was brought thither by the lord of Gormanſtone ready drawn up, and there only ſigned and ſo ſent away. The copy of the letter here followeth: 1641.

May it pleaſe your lordſhips,

The anſwer of the Lords of the Pale to the Lords Juſtices.

WE have received your letters of the 3d of this inſtant, intimating that you had preſent occaſions to confer with us, concerning the preſent ſtate of the kingdom, and the ſafety thereof in theſe times of danger, and requiring us to be with you there on the eighth day of this inſtant; we give your lordſhips to underſtand, that we have heretofore preſented ourſelves before your lordſhips, and freely offered our advice and furtherance towards the particulars aforeſaid, which was by you neglected, which gave us cauſe to conceive that our loyalty was ſuſpected by you. We give your lordſhips further to underſtand, that we have received certain advertiſement, that ſir Charles Coot, knight, at the council board, hath uttered ſome ſpeeches tending to a purpoſe and reſolution, to execute upon thoſe of our religion a general maſſacre, by which we are all deterred to

1641. wait on your lordſhips, not having any ſecurity for our ſafety from theſe threatened evils, or the ſafety of our lives; but do rather think it fit to ſtand upon our beſt guard until we hear from your lordſhips how we ſhall be ſecured from theſe perils. Nevertheleſs, we all proteſt that we are and will continue both faithful adviſers, and reſolute furtherers of his majeſty's ſervice concerning the preſent ſtate of the kingdom, and the ſafety thereof, to our beſt abilities: and ſo with the ſaid tender of our humble ſervice, we remain,

Your lordſhips humble ſervants,

To the right honourable our very good the lords juſtices and council of Ireland.

Fingale, Gormanſtone, Slaine, Dunſany, Netterville, Oliver, Lowth, Trimbleſtone.

Dublin, Decemb. 7. Received 11, 1641.

A proclamation iſſued out by the lords juſtices and council for the ſatisfaction of the lords of the Pale.

In anſwer to this letter, the lords juſtices and council, out of their unfeigned deſires to give unto thoſe lords all due ſatisfaction, and to remove thoſe jealouſies and great miſunderſtandings now grown up between them, thought fit by way of proclamation to publiſh and declare to them and all others of his majeſty's good ſubjects of the Romiſh religion, that they never heard ſir Charles Coot, or any other utter at the board or elſewhere, any ſuch ſpeeches tending to a purpoſe or reſolution to execute upon thoſe of their profeſſion, or upon any other, a general maſſacre or any maſſacre at all; and that they never intended ſo to diſhonour his majeſty and this ſtate, or wound

wound their own conſciences, as to entertain the leaſt thought of acting ſo odious, impious and deteſtable a thing upon any perſons whatſoever: and that if any proof can be made of any ſuch words ſpoken by any perſon whatſoever, he ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed. And therefore that they did pray and require the ſaid noblemen to attend them at the board, on the ſeventeenth day of December, that they might confer with them: and for the ſecurity of their repair unto them, they did thereby give to all and every of thoſe noblemen, the word and aſſurance of the ſtate, that they might then ſecurely and ſafely come unto them without danger of any trouble or ſtay whatſoever, from them who neither had nor have any intention to wrong or hurt them. 1641.

But now it began to appear unto the lords juſtices and council, how far they were engaged with the northern rebels. By the examinations taken of ſome Engliſh, who made their eſcape out of thoſe parts; the news of their ſolemn contract and aſſociation before mentioned, was brought up to Dublin: and they then well enough diſcerned the main obſtruction in their coming, the cauſe of their tergiverſations, and what good reaſon they had to find out excuſes to palliate their diſloyalty. They then expected no other fruits of their proclamation than what it produced: neither indeed had it any other effect and operation among them, than that they did with great boldneſs and confidence, by way of anſwer thereunto, write back a letter to the lords juſtices, wherein they pretend themſelves ſo juſtly affrighted with ſir Charles Coot's ſeverity and deportment, as that they dare not adventure themſelves within the confines of his

Several pretences of the lords of the Pale to colour their refuſal to repair to the lords juſtices and council.

1641. his government: they heavily impoſe upon him the inhumane acts, as they term them, perpetrated in the county of Wicklow, the maſſacre of Santry, and the burning of Mr. King's houſe and his whole ſubſtance at Clantarfe; and with a little kind of cunning, they ſeem to pretend a breach of the publick faith, but would transfer the blame from the lords juſtices to ſir Charles Coot; and thereupon deſire no ſiniſter conſtruction may be made of their ſtay, and that they may have ſome commiſſioners appointed to confer with them; and ſo conclude with ſome profeſſions of their loyalty and readineſs to give their advices for the advancement of his majeſty's ſervice, and the common peace of the kingdom.

The great indulgence uſed by the lords juſtices and council towards the lords of the Pale.

This was an anſwer, ſuch as might juſtly be expected to come from perſons ſo deeply now involved in the guilt of ſo high a rebellion. It is no wonder that they were thus put to their ſhifts, and enforced to take up ſuch fond excuſes, and imaginary pretences for their diſloyalty: for they could not in their own conſciences, but be moſt ſenſible of the very great indulgence uſed by the lords towards them: they had not failed in ſeveral particulars to manifeſt the great confidence they had in their good affections: they had refrained from giving them any manner of provocation or jealouſie. They had foreborn the doing ſome acts of hoſtility for a time upon ſome rebels among them, becauſe they would not give them any the leaſt cauſe of complaint. And however it appeared by the examination of Macmahon and ſeveral others, that they were privy to the firſt plot; yet the lords proceeded with ſo much caution and tenderneſs towards them, hoping that now

the

the conſpirators had failed in the main part of their deſign, which was the ſurpriſal of the caſtle of Dublin, that they might yet reclaim them thereby, and draw them into a juſt concurrence with them for the preſervation of the kingdom out of the hands of thoſe bloody northern rebels, who in the begining were the only appearers in the cauſe: but all was to no purpoſe, they were too deeply engaged to recede; therefore they ran now violently on, and drew along all the chief gentlemen likewiſe of the pale with them. 1641.

Luke Netervile and others of the chief gentlemen of the pale, gather forces and quarter them within ſix miles of the city of Dublin.

And now it ſhall be declared, how the chief gentlemen of the pale began and proceeded on to act their parts: about the begining of December, preſently after the late defeat given to the Engliſh ſoldiers in their march to Tredagh, Luke Netervile ſecond ſon to the lord viſcount Netervile, cauſed a proclamation to be made in the market-place of Luſk, requiring all the chief gentlemen and other inhabitants thereabouts, not to fail upon pain of death preſently to repair unto Swords, a town within ſix miles of the city of Dublin. And within few days after, did meet there the ſaid Luke Netervile, Geo. Blackney, Eſq; Geo. King, Joh. Talbot, Rich. Golding, Tho. Ruſſel, Chriſtopher Ruſſel, Patrick Caddel, Will. Travers, Rich. Barnwell, Lawrence Bealing, Holy-wood of Artaine, and ſeveral other gentlemen, who began to gather great numbers of men about them; and putting ſuch arms into their hands as they had in readineſs, at the preſent made their proviſions to entertain a ſettled camp within that place. The lords underſtanding of this unlawful tumultuous aſſembly, and deeply apprehending the miſchievous conſequences that might enſue there-

1641. upon, ſent this warrant following in a fair manner, requiring thereby their preſent repair unto to them.

By the lords juſtices and council.

William Parſons. John Borlace.

The gentlemen of the pale required by the lords juſtices and council to repair to Dublin.

WHereas we have received information, that Luke Netervile, eſq; Blackney of Rickenhore, eſq; and George King of Clantarfe, gentlemen; and other gentlemen of the county of Dublin, with great numbers of men are aſſembled together in a body at Swords and thereabouts, within ſix miles of this city, for what intent we know not, but apparently to the terror of his majeſty's good ſubjects; and although, conſidering the unſeaſonableneſs of this time choſen for ſuch an act without our privity (whatſoever their pretence is) a conſtruction might be made thereof to their diſadvantage; yet we being willing to make an indulgent interpretation of their actions, in regard of the good opinion we have of the loyalty of thoſe gentlemen who (it ſeems) are principals amonſt them in that aſſembly, and conceiving there may be ſome miſtaking in that enterpriſe, we have choſen the rather hereby to charge the ſaid Luke Netervile, Blackney, King, and all the perſons there aſſembled with them, upon their duties of allegiance to his majeſty, immediately upon ſight hereof to ſeperate, and not to unite any more in that manner without direction from us: and that the ſaid Netervile, Blackney, King, and ſix others of the principal perſons of thoſe who are ſo aſſembled at Swords or thereabouts as aforeſaid, do appear

pear before us to-morrow morning at ten of the clock, to ſhew the cauſe of their aſſembling in that manner, whereof they may not fail at their extreme perils. 1641.

Given at his majeſty's caſtle of Dublin, 9 December, 1641.

Ormond Oſſory,
Robert Dillon,
Cha. Lambert,
John Temple,
Charles Coot.

But they were ſo far from rendering obedience to the commands they received from the board, as they kept the meſſenger in reſtraint a day and a night, threatning to hang him, and after returned a ſcornful peremptory anſwer, ſignifying unto their lordſhips, "that they were conſtrained to meet there together, for the ſafety of their lives; that they were put in ſo great a terrour by the riſing out of ſome horſe troops and foot companies at Dublin, who killed four catholicks for no other reaſon, than that they bore the name of that religion, as they durſt not," as they pretended, "ſtay in their houſes, and therefore reſolved to continue together, till they were aſſured by their lordſhips of the ſafety of their lives before they run the hazard thereof, by manifeſting their obedience due unto their lordſhips." Theſe were the very words and expreſſions uſed by thoſe gentlemen in their anſwer: and accordingly they ſtill continued together, encreaſing their number of men and threatning to come down and encamp themſelves at Clantarfe, a little village ſtanding upon the very harbour of Dublin; The anſwer made by the pale to the lord's warrant.

1641. Dublin; where ſome of their followers had already at low water ſeized upon a bark lying there, and carried away all the commodities they found in her; a great part whereof they had put into the then dwelling houſe of the ſaid King, to whom that village did belong. This was an act of ſo high a ſtrain, and ſo eminently tending to the preſent ruin of the city, as it required a ſudden remedy; delays were dangerous in a matter of ſuch perilous conſequence; and the lords juſtices and council, plainly perceived that if the rebels were ſuffered to come down and lodge there, that they might without much difficulty make themſelves maſters of theſe few barks then in the harbour (the ſtate having at that time no ſhips of force to guard them) and ſo put themſelves in a fair way, if they could bring the Wexford ſhips about to join with them, to block up the harbour, and ſtop the coming in to their relief all ſuch ſuccours as ſhould be deſigned in England to land at that port. Whereupon the lords finding that the ſaid King continued ſtill with Luke Nettervile and thoſe other gentlemen at Swords, that they carried themſelves with ſuch high contumacy, as that diſdaining to render any obedience to their warrant, they neither made their departure from that place, diſbanded their men, nor ſo much as pretended to repair to them according to their commands at the time perfixed therein: it was thought high time to take ſome other courſe with them; and therefore about four days after, the day firſt ſet down by the lords for their appearing before them, and the very next day after another proclamation publiſhed for their immediate ſeparation, the lords

lords juſtices and council made this enſuing order, directed to the earl of Ormonde, lieutenant general of his majeſty's forces in Ireland. 1641.

By the lords juſtices and council.

William Parſons, John Borlace.

A warrant from the lords juſtices and council for the ſuppreſſing of the rebels of the Pale.

FOraſmuch as divers of the inhabitants of Clantarfe, Raheny, and Kilbarrock, have declared themſelves rebels, and having robbed and ſpoiled ſome of his majeſty's good ſubjects, are now aſſembled thereabouts in arms in great numbers, muſtering and training of their rebellious multitudes, to the terrour and danger of his majeſty's good ſubjects, as well at land as at ſea; which their boldneſs is acted in ſuch manner as to put ſcorns and affronts upon this ſtate and government, they acting ſuch depredations even before our faces, and in our own view as it were in deſpight of us: it is therefore ordered, that our very good lord the earl of Ormonde and Oſſory, lieutenant general of the army, do forthwith ſend out a party of ſoldiers of horſe and foot, to fall upon thoſe rebels at Clantarfe and thereabouts, who in ſuch diſdainful manner, ſtand to outface and dare us, and to endeavour to cut them off, as well for puniſhment as terrour to others, and to burn and ſpoil the rebels houſes and goods: and to prevent their further annoying of the ſhipping, going out and coming in, and lying in harbour, thoſe ſoldiers are to bring up, or cauſe to be brought up to the new Crane at Dublin, ſuch of the boats and veſſels

1641. veſſels now lying there as they can upon the ſudden; and to burn, ſpoil and ſink, and make unſerviceable the reſt. Given at his majeſty's caſtle of Dublin, December 14, 1641.

Or. Offory, Rob. Dillon, Cha. Lambart, Ad. Loftus, Jo. Temple, Cha. Coote, Fran. Willoughby.

Sir Charles Coote marches out with ſome forces to Clantarfe.

According to their lordſhips directions, the earl of Ormonde gave preſent order to ſir Charles Coote to march out privately with ſome forces unto Clantarfe, which he did without any noiſe; and meeting there with no oppoſition, he only ſuffered his men to pillage the town, whereof they burnt ſome part, as alſo part of Mr. King's houſe, in which much of the goods were found that had been taken out of the bark before mentioned: and this was the firſt expedition that the forces newly raiſed in Dublin, made after the defeat of the ſix hundred men in their paſſage to Tredagh: as for the maſſacre at Santry, mentioned in the anſwer from the lords of the pale, and obtruded on the world, as a juſt pretence to deter them from waiting on the lords at Dublin, it was no other than this: information was given to ſome of the officers of the army, that there had been a robbery newly committed by certain rebels at the houſe of one Smith, called the Buſkin, within five miles of the city: and that if a party of ſoldiers might be ſent forth, the informer offered to bring them upon thoſe rebels, as alſo upon other rebels, who had lately murdered one Mr. Derick Hubart a Dutch merchant at the Skerries; whereupon two officers

The true relation of the pretended maſſacre at Santry.

officers with forty foot, were ſent out with direction to fall upon thoſe rebels: they went directly to Santry, and there finding ſome ſtrangers with weapons lodged in ſuſpicious places, they ſlew four of them; who as was conceived were criminal offenders, and one of them after, upon further enquiry, found to be a proteſtant. 1641.

The proceedings held by the lords and chief gentlemen of the Engliſh Pale, after they had join'd with the northern rebels.

But how fairly ſoever this matter was carried, yet they reſolved to make uſe of it for the preſent, by way of juſtification of their diſloyalty: and having ſo far publickly declared themſelves, they held it not fit to ſit idle any longer, but began to put the whole circuit of the Pale into a poſture of war, and to make all ſuch preparatives as might enable them, by the powerful aſſiſtance they had out of the north, preſently to take in Tredagh, and afterwards to march up to Dublin, and there make themſelves maſters of that city and caſtle: a work as now it ſtood repreſented unto them, not likely to prove leſs glorious than ſucceſsful, and eaſy to be atchieved: they had for this end many publick meetings among themſelves, as alſo with the chief commanders of the northern rebels.

In the firſt place, they declared the lord viſcount Gormanſtone, general of the forces to be raiſed in the Pale, Hugh Birne, lieutenant general: the earl of Fingale, general of the horſe: then they gave power to thoſe lords to nominate captains in ſeveral baronies to be reſpectively appointed out of them, and likewiſe to raiſe ſoldiers in every ſuch barony, viz. eight ſoldiers out of a plow-land (which contains, according to the ancient eſtimation, one hundred and twenty acres) and every plow-land to maintain the ſoldiers to be ſet out

1641. out by them: the barony of Duleek was aſſigned to the lord of Gormanſtone; the barony of Screene and Deſſe, to the earl of Fingale; the barony of Slaine, to the lord of Slaine; the barony of the Navan, to the lord of Trimbleſtone; Kells, to the lord Dunſany; Ratogh and Dunboine, to Sir Richard Barnewall of Crickeſtown, baronet, and Patrick Barnewell of Cilbrew; and by theſe perſons, ſeveral captains were appointed, and numbers of ſoldiers raiſed according to the orders ſet down at the general meeting: there were alſo warrants iſſued out by lord Gormanſtone, whereby thoſe perſons appointed to raiſe the men, and to furniſh them with proviſions for their entertainment, were required upon pain of death to ſend them out: other warrants were likewiſe ſent out to other perſons who were appointed overſeers for the threſhing out of all the proteſtants corn, which was aſſigned generally through the Pale to be applied towards the maintenance of their army. The next work was to make a conſtant proviſion of all manner of neceſſaries for the entertainment of ſuch forces as were already brought down out of the north, as well as thoſe raiſed in the Pale, and ſet down at the ſiege of Tredagh. And for this ſervice they ſeſſed the whole country thereabouts, and ordered what proportions of corn and numbers of cattle ſhould be brought down out of every part for the victualling of thoſe that lay encamped about the town: there was allotted to every company, conſiſting of a hundred men, for their daily allowance, one beef, and half a barrel of corn: and that they might with the more facility bring in the country people to furniſh their army with theſe proportions,

portions, they made not only prohibitions that no corn ſhould be carried to Dublin, but ſo blocked up the ways as the poor churles that lived ſomewhat diſtant from the city, could not carry their corn thither without apparent danger; whereby the market began to be very ill provided, and great want and ſcarcity was much feared by reaſon of the large acceſſion of people come from ſeveral parts of the kingdom up unto the city for ſafety. Whereupon the lords juſtices and council made proclamation to be publiſhed, that all ſuch as had corn remaining within ſome few miles diſtance, ſhould, as their uſual manner was, bring it to the market at Dublin, and they ſhould receive ready money for the ſame; in caſe they did not that, they would preſently ſend out parties and burn their corn as it ſtood in the haggards, and ſo prevent the uſe the rebels intended to make of it for the victualling of their army. By this means the city was indifferently well ſupplied all that winter with corn, the country people, though otherways very malicious againſt the Engliſh and proteſtants, being content, though with much hazard, to adventure the bringing their corn, where they ſold it at a good rate for ready money, rather than to ſuffer it to be threſhed out by warrants from the lord of Gormanſtone for the uſe of the Iriſh army then lying before Tredagh. 1641.

The ſad condition of the publick affairs of the ſtate.

But while they continue their fruitleſs and unprofitable attempts there, having neither ſkill, courage, experience, nor any means to bring about their impetuous deſires and fond endeavours for the taking in of that town, I ſhall briefly repreſent a view of the ſad eſtate of our affairs in Dublin: it was now almoſt full

1641. full two months ſince the breaking out of this rebellion: the lords juſtices and council, out of their deep apprehenſions of a general revolt of all the Iriſh through the kingdom, did in the very beginning, with much earneſtneſs, ſolicite the preſent ſending over of ſuccours out of England: and as ſoon as they began to make a little further diſcovery into the ſtrength of this conſpiracy, and found their own wants and utter diſabilities to make any long or conſiderable oppoſition againſt the univerſal power of the whole body of the Iriſh, as it then began to appear unto them, firmly united with almoſt all the old Engliſh that were of the Romiſh profeſſion incorporated into their party throughout Ireland, they did with much more earneſtneſs by their frequent letters and ſeveral agents, repreſent unto his majeſty and the parliament of England, the very ill, even deſperate condition they were in; and therefore deſired that ſupplies both of men, money, and all kind of warlike proviſions, might be ſent away with all ſpeed unto them, declaring that unleſs they received them preſently, and that in great proportions, they were not able longer to ſubſiſt as they ſtood now environed on all ſides with multitudes of the rebels, but had juſt reaſon to apprehend their own preſent ruin, and the inevitable loſs of the whole kingdom: and becauſe they conceived the levies in England could not be ſo ſuddenly made nor the men ſo eaſily tranſported from thence into the north of Ireland, (where the rebels appeared in greateſt numbers, and had by their moſt unparalleled cruelty towards the Engliſh done moſt miſchief) as out of Scotland, they made a propoſition

1641.

poſition to the lord lieutenant, to move both his majeſty and the parliament, that 10000 Scots might be preſently raiſed and ſent over into thoſe parts. This they preſſed with much earneſtneſs, repreſenting the very great terrour the meer Iriſh had of that nation, that their bodies would better ſort with that climate, endure more hardſhip, and with leſs diſtemper undergo the toils and miſeries of an Iriſh war; that the tranſportation would be made with much more facility and leſs charge, it being not above three or four hours ſail from ſome parts of Scotland into the north of Ireland; that the kingdom of Scotland had been lately in arms, and ſo had all proviſions neceſſary for the furniſhing of their men for this expedition in readineſs: and laſtly, they having ſo good a foundation in the multitude of their own countrymen ſo advantageouſly ſettled there already, would no doubt undertake the work with all alacrity, and vigorouſly proſecute the war with ſuch ſharpneſs, as might teſtifie their deep reſentment of the horrid cruelties exerciſed upon ſo many thouſands of their own nation by that barbarous people.

The ſending of 10000 Scots into Ireland preſſed by the lords juſtices and council.

Theſe letters arrived very opportunely, about the time of the king's return from Edinburgh to the parliament of England, then ſitting at Weſtminſter: and there being even then two Scotiſh lords come out of the kingdom of Scotland, to treat with the parliament of England concerning the ſending forces from thence for the relief of Ireland; his majeſty ſent to the lords and commons to give them notice of their arrival, and withal deſired, that certain commiſſioners appointed by himſelf, and both houſes

Commiſſioners ſent out of Scotland to treat with the parliament of England concerning the relief of Ireland.

1641. of parliament, might be preſently named to treat with them, and from time to time, give an account of their proceedings to his majeſty and both houſes. This motion was with very great readineſs yielded unto, and it was ordered, that the earl of Bedford, the earl of Leiceſter lord lieutenant of Ireland, the lord Howard of Eſtrick; nominated by the houſe of peers: and Nathaniel Fiennes, eſq; ſir William Ermin, baronet, ſir Philip Stapleton, knight, John Hamden, eſq; nominated by the houſe of commons, ſhould treat with the Scotiſh commiſſioners concerning the affairs of Ireland, and that there ſhould be a commiſſion granted unto them to this effect, under the great ſeal of England, together with particular inſtructions to regulate the manner of their proceedings.

Propoſitions preſented to the parliament of England, for the relief of Ireland.

In the propoſitions given in by the Scotiſh commiſſioners, they did in the firſt place make offer of ten thouſand men in the name of the kingdom of Scotland: and that they might be enabled to ſend them ſpeedily away, they deſired an advance of 30000 l. of the brotherly aſſiſtance afforded unto them by the kingdom of England, and that what arms and munition they ſent into Ireland, might in the ſame proportions be returned unto them with all expedition.

Next they deſired that ſome ſhips of war might be appointed to guard the ſeas betwixt Scotland and Ireland, to waft over their ſoldiers which they deſigned to tranſport in ſmall veſſels.

And, then, that upon landing of their men in Ireland, there ſhould be 100 horſe ready to joyn with every 1000 foot that they ſhould ſend thither: and that they ſhould receive inſtructions

inſtructions and orders, and in every thing obey the Scotiſh general. 1641.

Theſe propoſitions being taken into conſideration in the houſe of commons, after they had duly conſidered of them, and weighed the high neceſſities of this kingdom, that the Scots had 2500 men ready raiſed, and that they could not ſo ſuddenly make proviſion any other way for the ſaving Ireland, as by ſending theſe forces out of Scotland, they readily condeſcended unto them; and having voted them ſeverally, they ſent them up to the houſe of peers, with their deſires for a ſpeedy concurrence in them.

Theſe beginnings gave great hopes of the ſudden relief of Ireland; and it was now generally believed, that conſiderable forces would be tranſported within a very ſhort time out of Scotland for the defence of the northren parts of this kingdom; eſpecially conſidering with how much earneſtneſs his majeſty in his ſpeech made to the lords and commons in parliament on the 14th of December, in this preſent year, had preſſed them to take to heart the buſineſs of Ireland, and offered unto them whatſoever his power, pains or induſtry could contribute to the good and neceſſary work of reducing the Iriſh nation to their true and wonted obedience.

But, alas, theſe great expectations were ſoon daſhed, and the forces deſigned for Ireland, as well out of England as Scotland, ſtrangely retarded by ſeveral obſtructions which daily aroſe in the tranſaction of the Engliſh affairs. The forces deſigned for Ireland, retarded.

For firſt, his majeſty in the ſame ſpeech, wherein he conjured them, by all that was

1641 dear to him or them, to go on chearfully and ſpeedily for the reducing of Ireland, did take notice of a bill for preſſing ſoldiers for Ireland, depending in the houſe of peers, and declaring his diſlike of putting it in that way, told them he would paſs it, ſo there was a *ſalvo jure* put into it both for the king and people, but withal, told them that he thought himſelf little beholding unto him, whoſoever it was, that began this diſpute ſo far trenching upon the bounds of his antient and undoubted prerogative.

Theſe paſſages in his majeſty's ſpeech were deeply reſented, not only by the lords who were more particularly concerned in them, but by the houſe of commons: and therefore his majeſty had no ſooner ended his ſpeech and left their houſe, but the lords fell into conſideration of the ſame, and reſolved that the king by taking notice of the debate in their houſe of the bill, concerning preſſing of ſoldiers, had broken the fundamental privileges of parliament. And preſently a meſſage was brought unto them likewiſe by Mr. Hollis from the houſe of commons, to deſire a conference with their lordſhips by committees of both houſes touching the privileges of parliament: at the conference they fully expreſſed the deep ſenſe they had of the high injury offered unto them, by his majeſty's invading their priviledges; and proceeded ſo far as to come not only to petition his majeſty, and to deſire that he would be pleaſed to make known that perſon who had given him information ſo unduly of what had paſſed in their houſe: but alſo to make a proteſtation concerning their privileges: this took up ſome time, and the great miſunderſtanding even

even which then began to appear betwixt his majeſty and the parliament, had ſo ſtrong an influence into the buſineſs of Ireland, as notwithſtanding the high neceſſities of this kingdom, and the great affections expreſſed by the kingdom of England for our ſudden relief here, the reſolutions were ſlow, and the preparations went ſo heavily on, as it was long before the houſe of commons could find means to enable the lord lieutenant to ſend ſo much as one regiment away out of England, for the defence of the caſtle and city of Dublin, then much diſtreſſed by the near approach of the rebels. 1641.

The debate of the propoſitions preſented by the Scotiſh commiſſioners, in the houſe of peers.

And now for the forces to be ſent out of Scotland into the northern parts of this kingdom, they meet with ſeveral obſtructions likewiſe. For firſt, the commiſſioners of Scotland had not power given them from the ſtate there, to treat for the ſending over a leſſer number than ten thouſand men, which the lords here were very unwilling to condeſcend unto. But this obſtacle was ſoon removed by the zealous affections of the houſe of commons, who, as ſoon as the propoſitions brought in by the Scotiſh commiſſioners for the relief of Ireland, were preſented unto them, voted their aſſent to treat for the ſending of the number of ten thouſand men out of Scotland, according to the inſtructions given to the commiſſioners by that kingdom; and ſent up a meſſage to the houſe of peers by ſir Philip Stapleton, knt. to lay before their lordſhips, the miſerable eſtate of the kingdom of Ireland, and to let them know that the houſe of commons conceived the beſt way for the preſervation of it out of the hands of the rebels, was ſpeedily to diſpatch the Scots into the pro-

1641. vince of Ulſter, and therefore deſired that they would join with them in the propoſitions received from the Scotiſh commiſſioners.

Upon the receipt of this meſſage, the houſe of peers fell upon the ſaid propoſition, and after a long debate, it was at length agreed, that ten thouſand Scots ſhould be ſent into Ireland, if the houſe of commons would condeſcend that at the ſame time there might ten thouſand Engliſh men be as ſpeedily ſent likewiſe thither; and thereupon deſired a conference with the houſe of commons, that they might fully underſtand their reſolution therein, which being yielded unto them by the houſe of commons, the lords at the conference preſſed with much earneſtneſs, that they might be aſſured of the ſending over of ten thouſand Engliſh at the ſame time that the Scots were to be ſent away: whereunto the houſe of commons replied, that they were not to be capitulated withal; that their actions were free as well without conditions as capitulations; that they thought they had given ſufficient certainty already of their reſolution to ſend that number of Engliſh into Ireland; and therefore deſired that their lordſhips would vote the ſending away of ten thouſand Scots by themſelves without any relation to the Engliſh ſpoken of by them.

This took up a large debate in the houſe of peers, and was one main cauſe of the ſlow proceeding on of the treaty with the Scotiſh commiſſioners. I ſhall not undertake to determine at ſo great a diſtance from whence theſe obſtructions grew, but I am very ſure we could here eaſily find, that there were ſome ſuch ſecret workings underhand againſt the good affections expreſſed by the houſe of commons,

mons, and by the lords who were well affected to the ſervice of Ireland, as that this treaty was very much retarded thereby, and was not brought on to any concluſion in many months after. So as in the mean time, all the Britiſh planted throughout this kingdom, were deſpoiled, driven out of their habitations, or moſt cruelly murdered within their own doors: and the Iriſh ſtrengthened themſelves in all parts of the country, and prevailing every where, drew many to join with them, that had hitherto kept themſelves in a kind of neutrality, as ſuppoſing that the ſtate here would be altogether deſerted, and no forces at all ſent out of England for the ſuppreſſing of the Iriſh that had taken up arms in this quarrel. 1641.

The whole province of Munſter about the midſt of this month of December, began to declare themſelves in open rebellion. The lord preſident there had uſed his utmoſt endeavours to ſuppreſs their very beginnings, but by reaſon of his want of ſtrength was now able to contain them no longer: he did with all diligence and carefulneſs labour to prevent the joining together of any numbers of the Iriſh in any of thoſe parts: and when he underſtood how they began in ſome places of the province to deſpoil the Engliſh, and that they had near Waterford gotten away many of the Engliſh mens cattle, and were carrying them out of the limits of his government, he thought it not fit longer to ſit ſtill, but gallantly purſued thoſe rebels in his own perſon, being accompanied only with his own troop of horſe, and ſome few gentlemen of the country, who joined with them, and after a long and tedious march came upon them unawares, The revolt of the Iriſh in the province of Munſter.

1641. ſlew 200 of thoſe rebels, reſtored the cattle to the Engliſh that were owners of them, and took ſeveral priſoners whom he hanged for a greater terrour to all ſuch as ſhould adventure afterwards to follow their example: as ſoon as he had done this ſervice, his lordſhip retired back to Cork, having neither forces nor means to make any further proſecution, which the Iriſh well enough underſtood, and therefore drew together in ſeveral places of that province; and tho' they did not in that barbarous manner, as they in Ulſter, hew down, cut in pieces, hang, drown or preſently murder all the Engliſh among them; yet many horrid murders they committed, uſed ſeveral kinds of cruelty to many particular perſons, and for all the reſt that fell into their hands, they robbed and violently deprived them of all their goods and cattle, moſt miſerably ſtripped them out of their cloaths; and leaving them quite naked, ſuffered moſt of them in that lamentable poſture to paſs to Cork, Youghall, Kinſale, and other ports there to embark their miſerable carcaſſes for England, where few arrived ſafely, and I am ſure I may well ſay few, in reſpect of thoſe multitudes who periſhed through want, cold and famine, before they could get to thoſe towns, or otherways died after their arrival in them, or were by ſtorms at ſea caſt away. And for the Engliſh who ſtood upon their guard and immured themſelves up in ſeveral caſtles of good ſtrength in thoſe parts, they endured many months ſiege, ſuffered much want and miſery, and having bravely reſiſted all the aſſaults and attempts that the Iriſh made with great multitudes upon them, and in many places cauſed them to raiſe their ſieges with great loſs and ſlaughter

The miſery ſuffered by the Engliſh in Munſter.

ſlaughter of their men, yet they were afterwards, finding themſelves without all hope or poſſibility of relief, enforced to deliver thoſe places together with the multitudes of the Engliſh they had received, into the hands of the rebels, upon fair quarter ſolemnly promiſed by them: and in many places no ſooner had they by that means gotten entrance into them, but that they moſt perfidiouſly broke the quarter given, deſpoiled them of that little remainder of their ſubſtance they had then left, and ſent them away in great want and miſery to find relief among other Engliſh garriſons. But the whole country being waſted and deſtroyed, and the poor Engliſh that lived in it deſpoiled of all their ſubſtance, were become ſo miſerable and poor, as that they were able to afford them very little relief or comfort, beſides pity and compaſſion, which could not ſupport or keep alive thoſe languiſhing gaſtly creatures, ſo as multitudes dyed, ſome in ditches, ſome travelling on the highways, ſome under hedges, and ſo left their carcaſſes as fearful ſpectacles to the beholders, and ſad monuments of the inhumane cruelties exerciſed on them by thoſe bloody rebels, who yet under pretence of mercy ſpared their lives, but took up a reſolution as they were not aſhamed to declare, to put them to a more lingring death; and therefore left them in ſuch a condition, as inevitably brought on their miſerable ends with much more diſcomfort and ſorrow. 1641.

But this ſhall ſuffice to ſhew the beginning of the riſing of the Iriſh in Munſter; the particulars whereof ſhall be clearly and at large ſet down in the following relations of their firſt proceedings within that province, where

it

1641. it ſhall be declared likewiſe, how all the great towns in Leinſter, except Dublin and Tredagh, did about the ſame time begin to ſtrip and expel all the Britiſh and proteſtants, that either inhabited in them, or fled out of the country near about to ſhelter themſelves there, from the barbarous cruelties of their Iriſh neighbours.

Dublin diſtreſſed. As for the city of Dublin, it began now to be much more ſtraitly encompaſſed by the forces of the rebels, much encreaſed through their late conjunction with the Engliſh pale. And in caſe of their want of power to force it, yet they having made their approaches ſo near, and having ſo abſolutely ſtopped up all the avenues, as we had great reaſon to apprehend their keeping back of proviſions would drive the city into high neceſſities, and quickly occaſion great want there. And here I cannot without much grief of heart call to mind the lamentable complaints and bitter out-crys, which until this time, were continually ſent up unto the lords juſtices and council, while they remained in this poſture, out of ſeveral parts of the country, where the Engliſh inhabitants being by the Iriſh driven out of their habitations, had for their preſent ſafeguard put themſelves into houſes or caſtles of ſome ſtrength: they there enduring much want and miſery, made ſhift, though not without great difficulty, by ſeveral meſſages and letters to make known their condition to the ſtate, as alſo that they were reſolved, as many of them did, to ſuffer the utmoſt extremities out of hope of relief, and a confident expectation of ſuccours from them.

But

But alas! all was in vain, they were able to afford them no other comfort than what their pitiful commiſeration of their ſorrowful condition would adminiſter; they were themſelves reduced ſo low, as with the greateſt power they could raiſe, they durſt not adventure to ſend any ways five miles out of the city, their ſupplies out of England were not arrived, they had neither place nor means to raiſe men, but only within the verge of the city; and ſuch as they ordinarly took up there, were either Iriſh, whereof many ran preſently away with their arms to the rebels, or poor ſtripped Engliſh, and inhabitants of the city, who were raw men, and though they afterwards being well exerciſed and trained to the uſe of their arms, proved very good ſoldiers, yet for the preſent they were very unfit for ſervice; as appeared in that little expedition colonel Craford made out with his men to Finglaſs, a little town two miles diſtant from the city, at the ſame time, when ſir Charles Coote marched forth to beat Luke Nettervile with his undiſciplined regiment out of his quarters at Santry, who having timely notice of his coming ſaved him the labour, for he preſently upon the rumour thereof, diſlodged, and fled in ſo much haſte, as he left ſome of his beſt equipage and all his proviſions behind him: but that party of rebels colonel Craford found at Finglaſs, having placed themſelves with good advantage behind great ditches, ſtood better to their work, and carried themſelves ſo ſtoutly, as our new raiſed men began to ſhrink, and had not the colonel and ſome other of his officers behaved themſelves very well that day, their men had made a moſt dangerous

1641.

Some forces ſent out to encounter the rebels who lodged within three miles of Dublin.

1641. dangerous and ſhameful retreat. This was the greateſt expedition the forces in Dublin were able to undertake at that time; which no man will wonder at, if he doth conſider it hath been related how the town was in a manner ſurrounded on every ſide by ſeveral parties of the rebels gathered together; all commerce was interrupted, all proviſions brought out of the country for the ſupply of it intercepted, as alſo, that all the chief of the Engliſh inhabitants had tranſported themſelves, their goods, and their families into England, many of the papiſts had upon other reaſons retired themſelves, and what belonged unto them, into the country, and there taken up their habitations within the rebels quarters; no manner of intercourſe with any perſons whatſoever that made their abode without the diſtance of two miles from any part of the city; no intelligence to be had upon any terms from among the rebels, all courſes taken for it diſappointed, ſeveral meſſengers hanged up; and yet on the other ſide, all our deſigns diſcloſed, our weakneſs diſcovered, and the moſt private reſolutions by one means or other communicated unto them. The parties of the rebels that lay near about the city, were theſe following, Luke Netervile being beaten from Santry, lay with near two thouſand men at Swords, a town ſix miles diſtant, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the caſtle of Artaine, and ſome other places within two miles of the city: on the weſt-ſide of the city, at Taſſagard, Rath-coole, Caſtle-Lyons, and other little villages within the compaſs of ſix miles, there lay two thouſand more of the rebels who were come down out of the counties of Caterlagh, King's county, Kildare, and other

Dublin ſurrounded on every ſide by the rebels.

other parts under the command of Roger Moor, and Sutton, Euſtace of Caſtle Martin, and others. The Clandonells, Birnes and Tooles, were alſo come down in great numbers out of the county of Wicklow, and had lodged themſelves in ſome caſtles towards the ſea-ſide, and in ſome villages at the foot of the mountain, not above three or four miles diſtant from the town on the ſouth-ſide: how deſperately theſe forces threatened our ruine and ſudden deſtruction will appear by this enſuing letter bearing date about the midſt of December, written from the lords juſtices and council, unto the lord lieutenant then attending for his diſpatch. 1641.

A letter from the lords juſtices and council, to the lord lieutenant.

May it pleaſe your lordſhip,

'BY our letters of the third of December, 'we made known to your lordſhip, 'that Mr. Hawtrige was then newly arrived 'with the treaſure ſent us from thence, 'which came but to ſixteen thouſand five 'hundred fourſcore and ten pounds, a ſup- 'ply of treaſure far ſhort of that which is 'now become neceſſary to perform any con- 'ſiderable ſervice here againſt the rebels, 'whoſe numbers are increaſed wonderfully, 'inſomuch as the forces they have about 'Drogheda on all ſides of it, and between 'Drogheda and this place, reaching even 'within four miles of this city, are upon 'very credible report, conceived to be above 'twenty thouſand men, and beſides thoſe 'numbers who are ſo united between this

'and

1641. ‘ and Drogheda and thereabouts, there are
‘ many thouſands of them diſperſed the
‘ whole kingdom over; for the meaner ſort
‘ of people firſt riſe generally, and then thoſe
‘ of better quality follow after, and the fire
‘ which was firſt kindled in Ulſter, and lay a
‘ while ſmothered in other parts, begins now
‘ to break out ſo generally, as the defection
‘ now appears to be univerſal throughout
‘ the whole four provinces; ſo ſtrangely
‘ rooted was the combination, and that
‘ ſtrengthened under the ſpecious ſhew of a
‘ war for religion; for although before and
‘ ſince the caution we had from your lord-
‘ ſhip, we have on our part endeavoured not
‘ to give any apprehenſion to the Iriſh, that
‘ England doth intend to make it a war of
‘ religion, yet as we formerly made known
‘ to your lordſhip, the rebels labour mainly
‘ to have it ſo underſtood. Nay, they now
‘ go ſo far as they call themſelves generally
‘ the catholick army, a title which hath
‘ drawn many thouſands to their party, and
‘ yet many joined with them for no other
‘ reaſon than becauſe they ſaw our ſuccours
‘ expected forth of England and Scotland de-
‘ ferred; they rightly judging, that without
‘ thoſe ſuccours, we are not able to defend
‘ them ourſelves; and indeed until thoſe ſuc-
‘ cours come, they muſt and will ſtill en-
‘ creaſe; but if our men and arms were once
‘ arrived the very countenance of their
‘ coming would draw many from them to
‘ us, and give ſome ſtop to the fury, with
‘ which they yet carry all before them
‘ whitherſoever they come.

‘ They continue their rage and malignity
‘ againſt the Engliſh and proteſtants, who if

‘ they

'they leave their goods or cattle for more 1641.
'ſafety with any papiſts, thoſe are called out
'by the rebels, and the papiſts goods and
'cattle left behind; and now upon ſome new
'councils taken by them, they have added
'to their former, a farther degree of cruelty,
'even of the higheſt nature, which is to pro-
'claim, that if any Iriſh ſhall harbour or re-
'lieve any Engliſh, that be ſuffered to eſcape
'them with his life, that it ſhall be penal
'even to death to ſuch Iriſh; and ſo they
'will be ſure though they put not thoſe En-
'gliſh actually to the ſword, yet they do as
'certainly and with more cruelty cut them
'off that way, than if they had done it by
'the ſword; and they profeſs they will never
'give over until they leave not any ſeed of an
'Engliſh man in Ireland.

'Nor is their malice towards the Engliſh
'expreſſed only ſo, but further even to the
'beaſts of their fields, and improvements of
'their hands, for they deſtroy all cattle of En-
'gliſh breed, and declare openly, that their
'reaſon is, becauſe they are Engliſh; ſo
'great is their hatred, not only to the perſons
'of the Engliſh, but alſo to every ſpecies of
'that nation; and they deſtroy all improve-
'ments made by the Engliſh, and lay waſte
'their habitations.

'We formerly ſignified to your lordſhip,
'that to take away all jealouſie from the
'papiſts of the Engliſh Pale, we would fur-
'niſh them with ſome arms, and the rather
'becauſe we well know that in the laſt great
'rebellion in Ireland, the Engliſh Pale ſtood
'firm to the crown of England; and that the
'rebel Tyrone in the height of his power and
'greatneſs, was never able to get into the

'Pale

1641. ‘ Pale with his forces whilſt he was in rebel-
‘ lion; and upon this occaſion, the noblemen
‘ and gentlemen of the Pale, making deep
‘ profeſſions of their loyalty to his majeſty,
‘ in imitation of their anceſtors, and with
‘ expreſſions ſeeming to abhor the contrivers
‘ of this rebellion here, againſt whom they
‘ offered their power and ſtrength, ſo as they
‘ might have arms; and we being well aſſured
‘ that if we could gain their concurrence with
‘ us, it would much facilitate our work; we
‘ did at their earneſt ſuit iſſue for them arms
‘ for one thouſand ſeven hundred men,
‘ wherewith divers companies were armed by
‘ them, and ſome of themſelves were appoint-
‘ ed governors of the forces of the counties,
‘ and captains of their companies; but ſo ma-
‘ ny of thoſe companies revolted to the re-
‘ bels, and carried away their arms with
‘ them, as we have recovered back but nine
‘ hundred and fifty arms; ſo as thoſe whoſe
‘ loyalty we had reaſon to expect would help
‘ us, are now through their diſloyalty turn-
‘ ed againſt us, and are ſtrengthened with
‘ our own arms; and without all queſtion, if
‘ thoſe of the Engliſh Pale had done their
‘ parts as became good ſubjects with the
‘ arms they had from us, and thoſe they
‘ might gather amongſt themſelves, they
‘ might with our help not only have defend-
‘ ed the Pale againſt the rebels, but might al-
‘ ſo have prevented the ruin and deſtruction
‘ wrought by their tenants and neighbours
‘ on the poor Engliſh and proteſtants amongſt
‘ them; for the noblemen and gentry ſate
‘ ſtill and looked on, whilſt the Engliſh and
‘ proteſtants were ruined before their faces;
‘ the papiſts in the mean time remaining ſe-
‘ cure,

'cure, without the loſs of goods, or any 1641.
'thing elſe.

'When we ſaw the power and ſtrength of 'the rebels ſtill growing upon us more and 'more, and approaching by degrees more 'near to us, and the Engliſh and proteſtants 'robbed and ſpoiled even within two miles 'of this city, in diſdain and affront of this 'ſtate, which are ſcorns of ſo high a nature, 'as we could not endure, if we had ſtrength 'ſufficient to repreſs their inſolencies; and 'when we obſerved the retarding of our ſuc-'cours of men and arms from England or 'Scotland, neither of both ſuccours being 'yet come, nor as we heard ſo much as in 'view there or in Scotland; and when we 'found apparently that for want of thoſe ſup-'plies, we became in a manner ſo contemp-'tible, as we were in danger to be ſet upon 'for taking from us this city and caſtle be-'fore our aids ſhould come, we bethought 'us of all the means we could of gaining 'time, being confident that we cannot be ſo 'deſerted by the ſtate of England, but that 'ſome ſupplies may yet come unto us: and 'therefore on the third of December, we di-'rected our letters to divers of the nobility 'of the kingdom who were neareſt to us, and 'moſt of them being of the Engliſh Pale, to 'be with us here on the eighth day of this 'month, that we might confer with them 'concerning the preſent ſtate of the king-'dom; and we hoped by their help, to handle 'the matter ſo as we might gain a few days 'time before our ſurpriſal here, by which 'time in all likelihood our ſuccours might 'arrive, although it be boldly given out by 'the rebels, that we ſhall have no ſuccours

1641. 'from thence, which they divulge to embolden their party, and to ſtrike terrour and diſcouragement into the well-affected, amongſt whom there are many ſo weak, as to apprehend from thence too much fear, whereby many are fled the kingdom.

'On the eighth day of this month, the earl of Kildare, the lord viſcount Fitz-Williams, and the lord baron of Howth came unto us, but the reſt of the noblemen not coming deferred our conference, and on the eleventh day of this month we received letters from ſeven of them, namely, the earl of Fingale, the lord viſcount Gormanſtone, the lord viſcount Nettervile, and the lords of Slaine, Trimbleſtone, Dunſany and Lowth, dated the ſeventh day of this month, and ſigned by them, pretending a fear of a maſſacre on thoſe of their religion, and that therefore they are deterred, to wait on us, but do rather think it fit to ſtand upon their guard; and how that reſolution of theirs may ſtand with the loyalty they profeſs, we humbly ſubmit to his majeſty's excellent judgment, for whoſe royal view we ſend you here incloſed, a copy of their ſaid letters.

'When we received thoſe letters, we did admire whence the fears of coming to us ſhould ariſe; but afterwards we heard that they had been in conſultation with the rebels, which alſo as to moſt of them is confirmed by the encloſed examination of Chriſtopher Hampton, and indeed we know no cauſe of fear they have of us, unleſs their own guilts begot in them the fear they pretend; and they ſpare not though unjuſtly to charge us with a neglect of their advices;

'whereas

'whereas not one of them to this hour offer- 1641.
'ed to us any advice or real aſſiſtance towards
'pacification of theſe troubles.

'It became then publick (nor could we
'keep ſecret that which they had publiſhed
'to others) that thoſe noblemen ſo far ſided
'with the rebels as they now ſtood on their
'guard; we therefore adjudged it fit for vin-
'dicating the ſtate from the aſperſion which
'we found ſo publickly endeavoured to be
'laid upon us, to publiſh the incloſed pro-
'clamation, as well to ſatisfy to the world
'as thoſe noblemen, who certainly are abun-
'dantly ſatisfied in their own ſecret thoughts,
'that we never intended to maſſacre them or
'any other; that being a thing which we and
'all good proteſtants do much abhor, what-
'ever the practice of their religion is, and
'hath been found to be by woful experience
'in other parts, whereof we confeſs we are
'now in great danger, if our long expected
'ſuccours come not the ſooner to us; and it
'may be gathered from that unexampled ty-
'ranny which the rebels have already exer-
'ciſed towards thoſe of our nation and reli-
'gion, who fell into their hands, what we
'for our parts may expect from them; but
'the diſhonour and ſhame which may reflect
'upon the Engliſh nation by expoſing this
'ſtate and kingdom to ſo apparent ruine,
'and with it the extirpation of God's true
'religion, afflicts us more than the loſs of
'our own lives and fortunes, when all might
'be ſaved by ſending ſeaſonably thoſe ſuc-
'cours.

'We lately received letters from the lady
'Ofaly, and a letter containing moſt inſolent
'menaces, incloſed therein, ſent her from the

1642. 'rebels, to which ſhe ſent them a noble an-
'ſwer, copies whereof we ſend here incloſed.

'One of the rebels ſtiling himſelf chap-
'lain major and overſeer of the coaſts and
'harbours, lately ſent a ſummons in a proud
'and vaunting manner, to one Edward Leech,
'that was entruſted to keep the iſland of
'Lambay, requiring the delivery up of that
'iſland to the rebels, which being done, he
'gave Leech a paſs, wherein he ſtiles the
'rebels forces the catholick army. A copy
'of which ſummons and paſs we ſend your
'lordſhip here incloſed; and Leech told us
'that that mighty chaplain declared openly
'to him, that he was plotter of this rebel-
'lion. That he had ſpent in travel and pro-
'ſecution of that deſign beyond ſeas, four
'thouſand pound; and that all the kings in
'chriſtendom, excepting the king of Eng-
'land, and the king of Denmark, have hands
'in this buſineſs.

'A caſtle in the town of Longford, held
'by the Engliſh, who ſtood out a while
'againſt the rebels, being in the end through
'want of victuals neceſſitated to be rendered
'up to them, upon promiſe of quarter, a
'popiſh prieſt ſtanding with his ſkean in his
'hand, watching for the coming forth of a
'miniſter then among the Engliſh, did by
'thruſting that ſkean into the miniſter's
'guts, and ripping up his belly give that as
'a ſignal to the rebels, for falling upon the
'reſt of the Engliſh, which they did accord-
'ingly, as ſoon as the miniſter was murder-
'ed, killing ſome and hanging the reſt moſt
'perfidiouſly.

'On the ninth of this month, we received
'advertiſement, that great numbers of men

'were

'were gathered together in warlike man- 1641.
'ner at Swords in the county of Dublin,
'within ſix miles of us, they having the ar-
'my of the rebels behind them on this ſide
'Drogheda; whereupon we then immedi-
'ately ſent out our warrant, commanding
'them to diſperſe: a copy whereof we ſend
'your lordſhip here incloſed; which was
'not obeyed; but a letter ſent us from Luke
'Netterville, ſon to the lord viſcount Net-
'terville, and others of them: a copy where-
'of we likewiſe ſend here incloſed; where-
'upon we publiſhed the incloſed manifeſt,
'for vindicating this ſtate from their aſper-
'ſions alſo: and it is obſervable, that thoſe
'gentlemen at Swords could even on that
'very Tueſday night, wherein they alledge
'they were ſo affrighted at their houſes, aſ-
'ſemble twelve hundred men together in
'that moment of time, to have in readi-
'neſs againſt any attempt from the ſtate,
'whereas for many days before, they could
'ſit ſtill and look on, whilſt an army of the
'enemy lay behind them, betwixt them and
'Drogheda, and whilſt ſome of them open-
'ly declared rebels, and many of their
'neighbours, who doubtleſs hold under-
'hand intelligence with the rebels, robbed
'and ſpoiled the Engliſh on all parts round
'about them; and yet thoſe gentlemen could
'not in all that time be either ſo affrighted
'by the rebels, or ſo compaſſionate of their
'poor Engliſh neighbours, as to aſſemble
'any men for the defence of themſelves, or
'thoſe their poor Engliſh neighbours; and
'certainly thoſe gentlemen might have been
'as believing in this ſtate who have always
'uſed lenity and mildneſs towards them, as

1641. ‘ in the forces of the rebels which lie ſo
‘ near behind them, and who they know
‘ have murdered many of his majeſty's good
‘ and innocent ſubjects, and for ought they
‘ know (if there were not ſecret intelligence
‘ between them) might have uſed them alſo
‘ in like manner.

‘ But the truth is, we conceive thoſe gen-
‘ tlemen had a mind to join with the rebels,
‘ and do now take up pretences to cover
‘ their diſloyalty, and caſt ſcandal on this
‘ government.

‘ The rebels in the Pale as in other parts,
‘ have cauſed maſſes to be ſaid openly in the
‘ churches, expelled the Miniſters from of-
‘ ficiating in their churches, and forced di-
‘ vers perſons for ſaving their lives and goods
‘ to become papiſts, openly profeſſing that
‘ no proteſtant ſhall be ſuffered to live in
‘ Ireland, and whilſt they inſult thus over
‘ all the Engliſh and proteſtants, deſtroying
‘ them for no other reaſon, but for that they
‘ are proteſtants and Engliſh, we let fall no-
‘ thing againſt them touching religion, and
‘ yet they feign things againſt us, tending
‘ that way to give ſome colour to their cruel
‘ proceedings.

‘ The rebels of the county of Kildare have
‘ taken the Naas and Kildare in the county
‘ of Kildare. The rebels of Meath have
‘ taken Trim, and Aſhboy in the county of
‘ Meath, and divers other places; the rebels
‘ of the county of Dublin have poſſeſſed
‘ Swords and Rathcoole, and ſpoiled all the
‘ Engliſh and proteſtants even to the gates
‘ of Dublin; and now about fifteen hundred
‘ of the rebels of Wicklow are in and about
‘ Powerſcourt, and about ten miles from

this

'this city; there are alſo between this and 1641.
'the Naas within ſix or ſeven miles of us, a
'thouſand of the rebels of Kildare, and the
'borders of Wicklow and Dublin, ſo as we
'are in this city invironed by them on all
'ſides by land, and they begin to ſtop ac-
'ceſſes to us by ſea; for the fiſhermen on
'the ſea-coaſts being all Iriſh and papiſts
'inhabitants in the pale, break out alſo in-
'to rebellion with the multitude, and have
'robbed, ſpoiled and pillaged even within
'the bay of Dublin, ſeveral barks coming hi-
'ther forth of England. And if to revenge
'this villainy on the fiſhermen at Clantarfe
'and thereabouts, ſo near us, we ſend forth
'a party of ſoldiers to burn and ſpoil thoſe
'rebels houſes and corn, the gentlemen of
'the pale will immediately take new offence;
'but that we will adventure upon, for now
'there is no dalliance with them, who ſo far
'declare themſelves againſt the ſtate, not car-
'ing what ſcorns are put upon the govern-
'ment, wherein is obſervable, that the land-
'lord of Clantarfe is one of thoſe gentlemen
'riſen in arms at Swords.

'Your lordſhip now ſees not only the ne-
'ceſſity of haſtening with all poſſible ſpeed,
'our ſuccours of men and arms, both out of
'England and Scotland, in greater numbers
'than thoſe at firſt deſigned, ſeeing the breach
'appears to be far greater, and the defection
'more general than at firſt was conceived;
'and yet ſo as ſuch of them as are ready be
'not forced to ſtay for the reſt, but that thoſe
'may be ſo ordered as to come after, for no
'fleſh can imagine, unleſs they ſaw it as we
'do, the greatneſs of our danger, who are
'but a handful in compariſion of the multi-

1641. ‘tudes riſen againſt us: and we deſire that ‘the ten thouſand deſigned to come from ‘Scotland, may be wholly ſent away, as well ‘the five thouſand intended to be left there ‘in readineſs as the reſt, with direction to ‘land as near Dublin as they may, and where‘ſoever they land to march to Dublin if poſſi‘bly they can; and to ſend away with all ‘ſpeed the ſhips appointed for guarding theſe ‘coaſts, is alſo very neceſſary to be haſtened; ‘and that two or three ſhips of good ſtrength ‘follow after: doubtleſs theſe rebels expect ‘a very great ſupply of arms and munition ‘from foreign parts either Spain or France.

‘And although out of the fore-ſight we ‘had of this extremity ſince theſe troubles ‘began, we have endeavoured to get in ſome ‘proviſions of victuals and corn, yet we have ‘not been able to provide ourſelves ſufficient‘ly to ſtand out any long ſiege, nor can we ‘now get in any more, our markets being ‘almoſt taken away, and the ſtrength of the ‘rebels ſurrounding us ſo as we can fetch in ‘no more proviſions; wherefore we beſeech ‘your lordſhip that the magazines of victuals ‘deſigned to be ſettled on that ſide, may be ‘ſettled with all ſpeed, if it be not done alrea‘dy, whereby we and the ſuccours we expect, ‘may not be in diſtreſs of victuals for our‘ſelves or them, or oats for our horſes. Our ‘want of victuals is the more in reſpect of the ‘daily acceſs of the Engliſh ſpoiled in the ‘country.

‘The neceſſity of the defence of the pro‘vince of Munſter, required the immediate ‘raiſing of a regiment of foot, conſiſting of ‘one thouſand men, and two troops of horſe ‘of threeſcore each troop, which three-ſcore

‘we

'we appointed the lord preſident to raiſe, and 1641.
'for the payment and arming of them, we
'humbly adviſe, ſeeing we cannot do it, that
'money and arms be ſent from thence to
'Youghall, with a further ſupply of arms and
'munition for the ſtores in that province,
'now much wanting there.

'And as the rebels which have beſet us and
'this city on all ſides by land, do threaten
'to cut off our market at Dublin, which we
'begin to feel already: ſo they boldly de-
'clare, that they will within a day or two cut
'off the watercourſe, which brings water to
'this city and caſtle; and that done, that their
'multitudes will immediately burn our ſub-
'urbs and beſiege our walls, which we con-
'feſs we yet want ſtrength to defend, and
'muſt want till our ſupplies come forth of
'England or Scotland, or both; for here we
'have but about three thouſand men, the reſt
'of the old companies being deſperſed in ſe-
'veral needful garriſons in the country (ex-
'cepting ſeven companies of them ſurpriſed,
'and cut off by the rebels at their firſt raiſing
'in Ulſter and other parts) and about two
'hundred horſe by the pole of the old army,
'whereof many are Iriſh: ſo as conſidering
'the ſpecioufneſs of this city and ſuburbs to
'be defended, the ſmallneſs of our number
'to defend them, and the great numbers of
'papiſts inhabitants in this city and ſuburbs;
'and laſtly, the very great numbers of the re-
'bels, who are ſo ſtrong as to approach this
'city with many thouſands, and yet leave
'many thouſands alſo at the ſiege of Drog-
'heda, we cannot expect to be able to de-
'fend this city for any long time againſt
'them, without the arrival of our expected
'ſuccours.

'The

1641. 'The earl of Caſtle-haven on the tenth of 'this month, preſented at this board the in-'cloſed oath tendered unto him by the rebels 'to be ſworn by him, which he ſaith he re-'fuſed to ſwear, and we hear they ſend it to 'all parts to be tendered to the people, preſ-'ſing them to take the ſacrament thereupon.

'We did lately in hope to gain ſome time 'until our ſupplies might come, liſten to an 'offer made by ſome popiſh prieſts to go to 'the rebels and treat with them, as you may 'perceive by the incloſed: but, ſince, we find 'there is little hope of it, for ſome of the prieſts 'are returned, nothing being wrought there-'by.

'However it is fit your lordſhip ſhould 'know what we do; we muſt now crave leave 'to declare to your lordſhip, that things be-'ing riſen here to this height, threatening not 'only the ſhaking of the government, but 'the loſs of the kingdom, as the ſupplies of 'men, arms, and more treaſure, are of great 'neceſſity to be haſtened away hither; ſo it 'is alſo needful that we enjoy your lordſhip's 'preſence here, for the conduct in your own 'perſon of the great and important affairs of 'this ſtate, as well in the martial as in the 'civil government, which do neceſſarily re-'quire it in this time of great imminent dan-'ger, wherein ſo far as we may be able to 'contribute any aſſiſtance with you, we ſhall 'be ready to diſcharge our duties therein, 'with that loyalty and uprightneſs of heart 'which we owe to his majeſty, and the par-'ticular reſpect due from us to your lordſhip; 'but we hope you will bring that ſtrength 'with you, which may befit the greatneſs of 'the king our maſter to ſend with his lieute-

'nant

'nant againſt ſo numerous enemies as theſe 1641.
'rebels are become, as well for the honour
'of his majeſty, as for the terrour of thoſe
'rebels.

'By what we have heretofore and now
'humbly repreſented to your lordſhip, you
'may in part ſee the greatneſs of the publick
'danger wherein this kingdom now ſtands,
'and particularly this city and caſtle, the
'principal piece thereof, that if thoſe be loſt
'(which we now again aſſure your lordſhip,
'were never in ſo great peril to be loſt ſince
'the firſt conqueſt of this kingdom by the
'crown of England) the whole kingdom
'muſt quickly follow; that the danger which
'muſt thereupon ariſe to the kingdom of
'England, is very great in many reſpects.
'There is no poſſibility to prevent thoſe evils
'with honour and ſafety to England, but by
'ſuccours from thence or Scotland, or both;
'and that if thoſe ſuccours come not ſpeedily,
'it cannot be avoided, but the kingdom muſt
'be loſt.

'And if notwithſtanding all this, ſo often
'and truly made known by us to your lord-
'ſhip, we ſhall periſh for want of ſupplies,
'we ſhall carry this comfort with us to our
'graves or any other burial we ſhall have,
'that your lordſhip can witneſs for us to the
'royal majeſty, and to all the world, that we
'have diſcharged our duties to God, to his
'majeſty, to that nation, and to this, in hum-
'bly repreſenting to his majeſty by your lord-
'ſhip, the chief governour of the kingdom,
'the extremities and dangers wherein his
'kingdom and people ſtand, and the neceſſity
'of haſtening ſupplies hither, by all poſſible
'means for preſervation of both; ſo as what-

'ever

1641. 'ever become of our perſons, our memory 'cannot be juſtly ſtained with ſo wretched a 'breach of faith and loyalty to the king our 'maſter, as to forbear repreſenting thither 'the extremities wherein we are, whether we 'have the credit to be believed or no; and 'that we write truth, and moſt needful truth, 'will be found true, when perhaps we ſhall 'periſh; and which is more conſiderable, the 'kingdom alſo for want of being relieved 'and ſuccoured in time. And ſo we remain,

Your lordſhip's to be commanded,

William Parſons,	John Borclay,
Ormonde Oſſory,	Robert Dillon,
Char. Lambert,	Adam Doſtus,
John Temple,	Charles Coot,
Francis Willoughby,	Rob. Meredith.

From his majeſty's caſtle of Dublin, 14 December, 1641.

POSTSCRIPT.

BY our letters to your lordſhip of the 22d of November, we did deſire to be informed from thence, whether the parliament here being once prorogued, may not again be prorogued by proclamation before they ſit, or whether it be of neceſſity that they muſt ſit again, and the parliament to be prorogued the houſe ſitting. And now that this rebellion hath over-ſpread the whole kingdom, and that many members of both houſes are involved therein, ſo as the parliament cannot ſit; we humbly deſire to know his majeſty's pleaſure

pleaſure therein, and if his majeſty ſhall think fit to porogue it, which at preſent we hold expedient, that then we may receive his commandment for prorogation, and that the doubt concerning that be cleared; for to aſſemble at that time, cannot be with ſafety. 1641.

Our letters of the third of December, have been hitherto with-held on this ſide by contraray winds.

In this moſt miſerable condition, the lords juſtices and council continued ſhut up within the city of Dublin, ſtrugling with all their power for a ſhort preſervation from thoſe diſmal calamities which had generally overſpread the whole kingdom: their care, travel, and endeavours, had hitherto in ſome meaſure extended to the moſt remote parts; how they might aſſwage the ſwelling diſtempers, or yield ſome relief to the lamentable complaints and bitter out-cries daily brought up unto them. But now the evils abroad were grown paſt their cure; and their own dangers ſo multiplyed, as they were enforced to ſpend their time almoſt in a perpetual conſultation, never at reſt, ſometimes raiſed in the night by ſudden advertiſements, always in conſtant perplexity and trouble, deſperately threatned on every ſide, ſo as what through treachery within or from without, they had juſt reaſon to apprehend the loſs of the city and caſtle wherein they had encloſed themſelves, and ſo conſequently the ruin and deſtruction of all the Britiſh and proteſtants throughout all other parts of the kingdom. And thus they continued until the moſt happy and welcome arrival of that truly valiant gentleman and gallant commander ſir Simon Harcourt, The arrival of ſir Simon Harcourt with forces out of England.

1641. Harcourt, who being deſigned governour of the city of Dublin, was diſpatched away by ſpecial order of parliament with his regiment for the preſervation of that place, and landed here on the laſt of December, 1641, to the great joy and comfort of all his majeſty's proteſtants, and well affected ſubjects, and to the terrour of thoſe rebels now in arms, who had made themſelves believe that no ſuccours would be ſent out of England towards the ſuppreſſion of their notorious rebellion.

And now my intentions were to have proceeded further on in ſetting down what hath fallen out within the next four months, and to have added a brief account of all ſuch particular paſſages as have been acted during the ſpace of thoſe ſix months within all the ſeveral counties of this kingdom, and ſo having recollected and preſented as it were at one view the publick calamities and miſerable deſolations of all the four provinces there, to have ſat down and made the firſt period of this ſtory.

But I muſt here take up, being unexpectedly called away; I reſolve therefore patiently to attend the reſtoring of this kingdom and the reſettlement of our affairs; and then if I find not this work undertaken and perfected by ſome more ſkilful hand, I ſhall hope to get the reſt of my tailing together, and make ſuch further proviſion of all other materials as may enable me to go through with the ſame.

In the mean time it will not be amiſs to take notice, that the rebels within very few months after their breaking out, had ſo ordered their affairs, as that by their ſudden ſurpriſes, their ſharp and bloody executions, their

their barbarous ſtripping, and deſpoiling of all ſorts that fell into their hands, they had cleared the inland counties of all the Britiſh inhabitants: and except ſome few caſtles and other places of ſtrength which they held ſeverally beſieged, and had moſt of them ſuddenly after ſurrendered for want of relief, they had in a manner made themſelves abſolute maſters in all thoſe parts of the kingdom. And for the maritime places, there were only ſome of the chief cities which were held out againſt them, beſides ſome few other forts and places of no great importance: as in the province of Leinſter, the city of Dublin; and in the province of Munſter, the cities of Cork, Youghall, and Kinſale; in Ulſter, London-Derry, Colraine and Caregfergus: and all theſe they held either beſieged, much diſtreſſed, or they were otherways ſo over-peſtered with the multitudes of poor ſtripped people fled to them for ſafety, as they were confident they could not not long hold out, but that either open force, treachery, famine, or ſickneſs would within a ſhort time inevitably put them into their hands. 1641.

Thus it pleaſed God to humble his own people in this land, and for their ſins to give them up into the power of their cruel enemies, who began now to ſacrifice to their own nets, to celebrate the memory of their victories: and upon the proſperity of their undertakings and late ſucceſs, they were become ſo confident of prevailing even to the total extirpation of all the Britiſh and proteſtants out of this kingdom, as they proceeded to ſet down a certain form of government, nominated the perſons whom they intended to entruſt with the management of their affairs,

1641. fairs, what laws they would have revoked, what ſtatutes newly enacted: and in the mean time they erected a council, which they ſtiled the ſupreme council, which they inveſted with abſolute power and authority to order and govern the whole kingdom.

This conſiſted of certain noblemen, gentlemen, three or four lawyers, and one phyſician, who being elected unto this charge, had the place of their reſidence appointed unto them at Kilkenny, a city in the province of Leinſter, where they ſat ordinarily for the diſpatch of all the great and weighty affairs of their ſtate: they there erected ſeveral courts of judicature, they made a new broad ſeal, appointed ſeveral great officers of ſtate, coined money, ſettled an exciſe upon all kind of commodities, and performed many other acts of regal power.

Now how they proceeded on in the ordering theſe their great affairs, what councils they took, what means they uſed to enable themſelves to make oppoſition againſt the forces ſent over by the parliament of England into all the four provinces of Ireland, I ſhall here forbear to ſpeak of. Theſe particulars muſt be reſerved for the enſuing part of this ſtory, where they will moſt properly fall in to be related: and where likewiſe, we ſhall find ſo ſtrange a turn, ſuch a remarkable declination of their power, their hearts failing them for fear, their councils infatuated, their deſigns blaſted, their forces routed, their ſieges raiſed, ſuch a general defailance and inproſperity in all their undertakings, as we muſt needs give glory to our maker, and acknowledge that God hath moſt wonderfully wrought

wrought for the deliverance of the poor ſmall remnant of his people, which were here ſhut up and deſigned to the ſlaughter. 1641.

For after a conſiderable number of horſe as well as foot ſent over by the parliament of England arrived at Dublin, and had in ſome petty encounters thereabouts tried the metal of the rebels, and found their ſpirits of a poor and baſe alley, they began extremely to diſvalue them, and would be no longer abuſed with the fabulous reports of their great ſtrength or numbers, which with much advantage they had long made uſe of: therefore now they began to ſeek them out in all places, and whereſoever they came to meet with them, they always prevailed even with ſmall numbers very often againſt great multitudes of them, ſparing not many times to purſue them into the midſt of their greateſt faſtneſſes, and made the very bogs and woods unſafe receptacles for their broken troops. And with ſo great ſucceſs was the war proſecuted by the Engliſh from the firſt landing of their forces out of England until the treaty of that moſt unhappy ceſſation concluded in Sept. 1643, as that in all the encounters they had with the rebels during that time, they never received any ſcorn or defeats, but went on victorioufly, beating them down in all parts of the kingdom: and ſo they carried on their work before them without any aſſiſtance either from the meer Iriſh or the Engliſh-Iriſh: for I cannot myſelf remember any gentleman of quality throughout the whole kingdom that was there born and bred up a papiſt, that put himſelf into that ſervice, or deſired to be liſted as a member of the Engliſh army. It is true, ſome of the com-

1641. mon ſoldiers there, were of the Engliſh-Iriſh that came in; and though they were not conſiderable for their number, yet they did good ſervice, and ſtill with much fury and ſharpneſs followed on upon the execution.

FINIS.

A

LETTER

OF

Sir HENRY TICHBORNE,

TO HIS

LADY,

OF THE

SIEGE of TREDA'GH;

AND

OTHER PASSAGES

OF THE

WARS of IRELAND,

Where he Commanded.

A

LETTER

OF

Sir HENRY TICHBORNE,

To his LADY,

Of the SIEGE of TREDAGH;

And other Paſſages

Of the Wars of Ireland,

Where he Commanded.

My dearly beloved,

IT is not fame, report, nor teſtimony of others, but your own eyes have ſeen and beheld the wonderful mercies of God, and in your ſelf experimented many deliverances from violence, death, and famine: neither need I put you in mind, or exhort you to a daily thankful commemoration of theſe bleſſings; for I know your piety, continual practice, and ſincerity of heart, are full and perfect motives to lead you unto it. Yet not knowing whether I may have time to breath my laſt deſires and affections in your ears, I have left this paper as a witneſs of them, wherein I exhort you to bear all croſſes and calamities, that may befal you, with prudence, conſtancy of mind, and a religious reſpect, 1641.

1641. remembering that there is nothing befalls us, but that which is prediſpoſed by the almighty maker of all things, and that to our everlaſting good and glory, if we make a right uſe and benefit of it. Be not ſparing of God's bleſſings to communicate with the needy, when God gives them; "for with ſuch ſacrifices God is well pleaſed;" and you will find that the oyl in the cruiſe, and the meal in the barrel, will not be waſted until theſe days of calamity are paſſed over, and that God hath reſtored you to your former plenty. There is much due unto me, and peradventure you and your children may live in calmer and more proſperous ſeaſons to partake of it. My papers I have left with you, and becauſe you cannot remember, nor are privy to every circumſtance, that may plead for ſome regard towards you, in relation to my carriage and the diſcharge of my duty, in the various occurrences of theſe late years; I ſhall in theſe enſuing lines ſet you down many of thoſe things, wherein God hath bleſſed me with wonderful deliverance, and uſed my weakneſs as an inſtrument to manifeſt his mighty power.

The 23d of October, 1641, (as you may remember) I was living at Donſoghly within four miles of Dublin; and upon the general terrour which was in the country, when all Engliſh and proteſtants forſook their habitations, and fled from the face of that horrid rebellion, I thought it not ſafe to remain alone behind them; but when, in the evening of the next day, I had ſcattered a party of rogues that lay lurking about my houſe, I retired with you and my family the ſame night to Dublin. The day following the

lord

lord juſtices and council ſent for me before 1641.
them, and after ſome debate of the condition of the time, and the quickeſt way to prevent the growing danger, it was concluded by the board, that I ſhould forthwith raiſe a regiment of one thouſand ſoldiers, and march with all expedition unto Drogheda; daily news of danger and eminent peril arriving from thence, with the ſuſpected faith of the inhabitants. October 26 early in the morning, I began my levy, and uſing great diligence, with continual pains and travel, I completed, armed, and led my regiment to Drogheda within the ſpace of nine days, where I entered very ſeaſonably the fourth of November.

At Drogheda I met many ſtrange reports of the rebels number and advance, and theſe reports were daily ſtrengthened with falſe intelligence by ſome that were employed in the ſervice, being in truth no other than rebels in their hearts and affections, as afterward plainly appeared by their flying from our party, and ſiding with the rebels: others that were new come, and ſtrangers in theſe parts, though truſty, could make no full diſcovery of the rebels ſtrength, approach, or intention. Twice upon intelligence I ſent and went forth with a convenient party to fall on a quarter of the rebels, but found myſelf deluded; and to have left the town with the whole forces (as I conceive was the aim of my intelligencers) had been in a ſort to put it into the rebels hands, the malignant party being ſtrong and powerful in it, and diſcovering themſelves and their ill intentions daily more and more; which when I had advertiſed to Dublin, the lords juſtices appointed ſix hundred new levied men to come

1641. from thence, who ſetting forth about the ſame time when the northren rebels drew near unto Drogheda, through ſome miſcarriage on the way, though they had ſeaſonable notice to prevent it, yet were they met with by the rebels, totally routed, and moſt of them loſt.

This diſaſter befalling us, the rebels believed themſelves maſters of the whole country, and our boſom enemies did no longer diſguiſe themſelves, for the whole Pale that ſeemed to waver, and in a ſort to deteſt the rebellion, declared for them, and immediately joined with the northern rebels; whereupon enſued the ſiege of Drogheda, which had not continued long, when I viewing the proviſion of victuals and the grain within the walls, I eaſily obſerved that in a ſhort time we ſhould be diſtreſt for want of proviſions; and perceiving there was a pretty quantity of corn in ſtack at Greenhills, about half a mile without the eaſtgate, and that the rebels were quartered a mile from it; on a morning betimes I cauſed carriages to be prepared, drew the whole garriſon into arms, and diſpoſing two hundred foot and a troop of horſe under the conduct of ſerjeant major Lovell, with inſtruction to iſſue forth at one gate; I took the like number of horſe and foot, and went ſuddenly forth at the gate that led directly unto the place; and before I was advanced a little above half way I met an Iriſh woman that lived without the walls, who told me, that part of the Iriſh army, at leaſt three thouſand were marching toward me, a thing I little credited, becauſe I had ſent forth ſcouts, and a lieutenant of foot with thirty muſketeers

muſketeers to poſſeſs a ground of advantage before me. But I was little farther advanced, when the ſcouts returned full of fear, and the lieutenant with his muſketeers in great amazement, blowing, ſweating, and imprudently, before he came cloſe unto me, declared in the audience of all the ſoldiers, that there were at leaſt four thouſand of the enemy hard at hand, and that we were in danger to be encloſed of them coming ſeveral ways. 'Nothing is more dangerous than 'reports of this nature, in the hearing of 'the ſoldiers, which of what condition ſo-'ever, ſhould always be privately delivered 'to the commander.' And thus far I did experiment it at this time, that the lieutenant's timorous report, drove ſome, both horſe and foot, to forſake me, and ſeek their ſafety within the walls, and had almoſt wrought a general terror. But I told them, conſidering the ground, we were ſtrong enough to oppoſe ten thouſand; and that they ought not to be diſmayed, for the lieutenant ſurpriz'd with fear had augmented the enemies number, and blinded him ſo much, that he could not diſtinguiſh between the enemy and our own forces, thoſe being no other than our own whom he ſaw coming behind us another way, and were appointed by me to be our ſeconds. With much ado, this perſwaſion re-aſſur'd the ſoldiers, and cauſed them to ſtand, and for the more ſafety I ſent into the town for ſome troops I had left in arms on the market place: but before the ſoldiers were confirmed, and fully prepared to oppoſe the rebels, they came upon us with a great ſhout, and gave fire: at the ſecond firing our men anſwered them in the like kind; 1641.

1641. kind; and in the midſt of the ſmoak, I called out aloud, "they run, they run;" which took the deſired effect, was believed by thoſe in the rear, and ſeconded by them all with the like cry: and though it appeared ſomething otherwiſe upon the clearing up of the ſmoak, and after a charge, that the rebels gave thick fire out of an ambuſh, yet our muſketeers on the higher bank ſet bravely forward, when they ſaw me alighted from my horſe to partake in ſuch adventure as ſhould befal them; and the rebels, who were ſtaggered with the former cry, betook themſelves to their heels in general. Our men had the execution of them about three quarters of a mile, the reſt of their army looking on us at a diſtance, as they were drawing together to make reſiſtance: and when I perceived all the rebels in arms, I retreated in an orderly way, and ſaw all the ſoldiers in ſafety within the gates before me. Of the rebels there were about two hundred ſlain, a prieſt and three captains, and one of the O'Neals that was ſerjeant-major general of their northern army: of our men four only hurt, and two horſes ſhot in this ſervice; for God fought for us, and from this time forth ſo diſmayed the rebels, that afterwards they never ſtood before us.

On St. Thomas's eve, at one of the o'clock at night, the rebels came to aſſault the town, and fell on with a great ſhout; but we were prepared for them, and gave them ſuch entertainment as belonged to unwelcome gueſts, whereby they loſt many, and toward the morning withdrew to their quarters. On New-year's day, early in the morning, I ſent forth a party which killed ſome of the rebels, burnt their quarter

quarters, and retreated with the loſs of but one man. 1641.

The 7th of January, a little before day, I drew forth three troops, conſiſting of eighty good horſe or thereabouts, with three hundred choice foot, in two bodies, and a forlorn of fifty muſketeers to fall on the rebels quarter at Ramullan without St. John's port; where, after a little reſiſtance, their barricadoes and breaſt-works were forced, their quarter entered, and an hundred of them at the leaſt ſlain upon the place, many driven by heaps into the river and drowned, and amongſt thoſe one Art Roe Mac-Mahon, a prime man, and much lamented by them; and whilſt we were in purſuit, and firing the quarter, a full body of the rebels (the day being now broken) appeared from Platten and other places, marching towards us; theſe I thought fit to meet and charge with my reſerve, whilſt the ſoldiers were drawing off, and retiring from the former chace, and by God's ſingular bleſſing (to whoſe glorious working all theſe actions are to be wholly aſcribed) we ſuddenly routed them, and killed above forty on the place, not adventuring to purſue them far, becauſe the rebels were numerous, and gotten into arms throughout all their quarters. The ſoldiers brought off many muſkets and corſlets, a few cows, and ſome other plunder.

The rebels failing of other hopes, laboured to ſtop the channel, and hinder our relief by water; but God diſappointed them, and opened the way unto us; for the 11th of January, our ſhipping came from the Skerries in one tide to the quay; a rare matter, and hardly known in the memory of man. That night I exhorted the officers to be very vigi-

lant

1641. lant on their guards, becauſe the rebels might conceive us joyful and ſecure upon our received relief; and I could not go that night abroad according to my cuſtom, in regard I had ſeveral diſpatches to make to Dublin; and the ſhipping were the next day to return in caſe the wind favoured them, which I would in no ſort be a hindrance unto. How my orders were obſerved or neglected I will not mention, but about four of the clock the next morning, as I was buſily writting, I heard three muſkets go off, and ſoon after two others; and, as I apprehended (notwithſtanding the ſtormy weather) a kind of muttering noiſe; whereupon I ſtarted from the table, ſnatched up my piſtols, and called to thoſe about me to follow me with ſpeed, for I believed that the rebels were gotten into the town: and coming forth of doors, I called unto a court of guard that was on the town wall near my lodging, and willed them to increaſe the alarm, and give fire athwart the river, becauſe I believed the rebels to be entered on that ſide the quay; and then running with all ſpeed towards the bridge, when I was about half way, the rebels gave a great ſhout. At the foot of the bridge I found a guard of my own company ſettling themſelves to their arms; thoſe I drew forth, and placed to maintain the bridge until I ſhould inſtantly return unto them: and then making haſte to the main-guard, I found not there that vigilancy I expected; but increaſing the alarm, with ſuch ſmall ſtrength as I could ſuddenly gather, I returned and found my enſign newly engaged with the rebels at the end of the bridge; him I relieved, and God proſpered us ſo well, with the concourſe of officers and ſoldiers,

ſoldiers, that finally we ſcattered them, and had the killing of many, and took above fifty priſoners. God's workings are wonderful, and oftentimes, eſpecially in matters of war, produce great effects out of ſmall and contemptible means: this night my man following of me haſtily with my horſe out of my lodging, the horſe being unruly at the beſt, ſuddenly broke looſe, and made ſuch a noiſe in running and galloping madly upon the ſtones in the dark ſtreets, it put the rebels to a ſtand, believing we were better prepar'd to welcome them than in truth we were, and thereby afforded us ſomething the more leiſure to entertain them, as by God's bleſſing we did. 1641.

The 7th of February I made a ſally on the north-ſide of the town, fir'd two or three of their lodgings, and recovered a little forage and proviſion to refreſh us a few days: the rebels drew forth from Bewly their head quarters, with a body of five hundred or thereabouts, but upon my advance with the like number, and ſkirmiſhing with them in their faſtneſs, they retreated with a little loſs, which greatly emboldened our ſoldiers for future ſervices, who received no loſs at all. That night I ſent forth a party of muſketeers to fall on a court of guard of the rebels, which they effected with the ſlaughter of the centinels and ſome others. February the 11th in the afternoon, upon intelligence that the rebels had removed from one of their quarters, and left it void for the lodging of others that were to arrive that day out of the North, I thought it a fit opportunity to iſſue ſuddenly out of the town, with intent to recover part of their proviſions, and to fire the reſt, that could not be

1641. be brought away, together with their quarter; and to that end, I drew forth a party of five hundred to confront the rebels head quarter at Bewly, and ſent lieutenant Greenham, a reſolute commander, with ſixty muſketeers, and thirty horſe under the conduct of cornet Conſtable, to guard thoſe that were directed to ſpoil the quarter; who coming thither, and finding the place empty, ſome of the foot, at leaſt twenty, with part of the horſe, lading themſelves with ſheaves of corn, and ſuch other things as they met with, returned homewards; when ſuddenly there appeared before the remainder of the horſe and foot a body of four hundred rebels, come forth of the North to poſſeſs that quarter; whereupon they retreated a little, and drew themſelves into good order. About that inſtant I had with ſeven or eight horſe in my company left the body of five hundred confronting Bewly, and being on my way towards them, I received the news of the rebels approach: forthwith I ſent direction for one hundred and fifty ſoldiers to be drawn quietly out of the body, and to follow me. The advertiſement of this being delivered to lieutenant Greenham, with my approach, I being then come in ſight of him, cauſed him without delay to fall on the rebels; and I commanded cornet Conſtable to do the like with the horſe, keeping by me a reſerve of ten horſe to ſecond him, if occaſion were: for things being come to that pinch, admitted no debate, but a ſpeedy hazard. The rebels terrifyed and amazed with this ſudden and unexpected aſſault, were ſoon routed by this party alone, before the others I had appointed for their aſſiſtance were come up to them. There were ſlain of the rebels ſeventy-

venty-three, with capt. Owen, a follower of the earl of Tyrone in queen Elizabeth's time, a lieutenant and an enſign. There were taken two colours, one enſign, three ſerjeants, nine priſoners. One of them that appeared a man of note, died the ſame night of his wounds. 1649.

Two days after (for now we were ever in action) upon notice of a prey that might with ſome hazard be probably gained, I ſent forth captain Patrick Trevor on ſunday morning, a little before day, and marched after him myſelf with another party, to relieve and bring him off as occaſion ſhould ſerve: he behaved himſelf ſo well, that he took the prey of eighty cows and about two hundred ſheep; and though the rebels on both hands beſtowed many ſhot and ſhouts upon us, yet we receiv'd no loſs or conſiderable hurt, but came in time to ſerve and praiſe God in the congregation that morning.

On ſunday the 21ſt of February, about four of the clock in the morning, ſir Phelim O Neal attempted the town with ſcaling ladders, and had raiſed ſeveral againſt the wall with much ſilence, hoping to make his entry on the back of my lodging, where the wall was loweſt: but the centinel diſcerning one of them mounted on the top of the ladder, ready to ſurprize him, knockt him down with the butt-end of his muſket, and called out to the court of guard, who iſſuing ſuddenly forth, eaſily repelled the reſt, inſomuch that they left thirteen of their ſcaling ladders behind them; and being well plyed with ſhot from the walls, divers were hurt and ſlain, as a boy reported who was drummer to ſir Phelim O Neal, and had made his eſcape from him that morning. About noon the ſame day,

1642. Day, we received another relief of men and victuals that arrived wonderfully in one tide, as the former had done, by God's ſingular providence.

The 27th of February, deſirous to repair a ſmall loſs I had received of boys and women that went a foraging to Bewbeck, I iſſued forth to the ſame place with two new companies lately come from Dublin, *fifty* muſketeers of the old garriſon, and one hundred and twenty horſe in four troops; and poſſeſs'd the ſame ground where the party ſtood that I had ſent forth eight days before, for the guard of the foragers: and after I had directed the foragers that went with me, how to demean themſelves on the rebels approach, and appointed the pioneers to bury the dead, I ſpent much of the day there before the corn was brought quite away into the town. The rebels drew forth into a body of five or ſix hundred, under five colours, right againſt me, at a pretty diſtance; and another body of two or three hundred on my right hand, keeping the ſame diſtance: whoſe motion, when I had long attended in vain, and evening growing faſt, I turned on my left hand towards the way that led to Dublin, where the rebels held an uſual guard, and which I intended to viſit; but my ſcouts were ſent forth on all ſides to obſerve the rebels motions. I had not marched much more than a muſket ſhot when my ſcouts came poſting in, and aſſured me, that the rebels were advancing toward me in great haſte, and that there was but the ridge of an hill between them and us: I preſently ordered my men, as I conceived, for the beſt advantage; ſent immediately into the the town for ſeconds,

conds, if need ſhould require; and becauſe moſt of my foot were new-comers, I told them briefly as the ſhortneſs of the time would give me leave, that I was glad of this occaſion, wherein they that were lately come ſhould have the experience of ſuch adventures, as we who were formerly here had often tried, and by God's continual bleſſing us, beaten the rebels on greater diſadvantages than now appeared. I beſought them only to be couragious; for if there were a fainting among them, I would rather endeavour (and I doubted not to do it) to draw them from the trial in ſafety, than expoſe them to imminent danger. The ſoldiers gave a chearful anſwer of reſolution and readineſs to meet the rebels, and marched fiercely towards them; which taken notice of by the rebels, by ſuch time as we were gotten to the ridge of the hill, they were ſunk down again almoſt to the foot of it, where were many rows of great furze fit to cover an ambuſh, and at firſt I apprehended that might be their purpoſe of retreat, to draw me into unexpected danger: but when I had beheld them a little while, and obſerved their motion, and diſcerned them in ſome diſorder, and that their officers were beating them with their ſwords to force them forwards; I found the time fit for my purpoſe, and called to haſten the charge, for the rebels were diſmayed, and running before we came at them: and to make my words good, they made few ſhot before they totally diſbanded and every man ſhifted for himſelf. I cauſed a party of horſe to meet them at the bridge of Gillianſtown, near the place where our ſix hundred men, ſent at firſt to aſſiſt us, were 1641.

1641. unhapily defeated; and there, in the ſame field and about it, three hundred and upwards of the rebels were ſlain, and two colours taken.

The firſt of March, I ſent forth ſir John Borlace with four companies of foot, and one troop of horſe, to forage the ſouth-ſide of the river towards Colpe, from whence a good quantity of corn was brought into the garriſon. And in the afternoon I took two other companies of foot, and a troop of horſe, acompanied with the lord Moore; and as we were advancing ſomething farther toward the Inche, there came a meſſenger haſtily unto me, and told me, that ſir John Borlace met with ſome reſiſtance at Colpe, at an old tower, which he attempted to take; and that many of the rebels were come from the north-ſide of the river in a ferry-boat, and entered into Stamine, whereby it was ſuppoſed they would attempt ſomething againſt thoſe that were before Colpe. On this advertiſement my lord Moore and myſelf returned, and finding no appearance of the rebels intention to do any thing, the evening being come on, I prepared to march home: and leaving the lord Moore, I went towards ſir John Borlace before Colpe, where by the way I was advertiſed that the rebels were ſallyed out of Stamine with two hundred foot, to ſurprize thoſe before Colpe; I inſtantly directed captain Billingſly to take eighty muſketeers, and fall up to the ſide of the way, where there was the advantage of a ditch; and with ſuch horſe as were with me, I made directly to an opener place, though ſomewhat about; and by that time I came in ſight of the rebels, captain Billingſly and they were exchanging

changing ſome ſhot; but upon the approach of the horſe coming on with a round charge, the rebels fled again into Stamine, and by the way there was ſlain of them a lieutenant, thirteen ſoldiers, and a captain of the O Neals wounded and taken priſoner; and if my horſe had not been boged with ſome others, being ignorant of the ways, I believe many more had been ſlain, and the place taken the ſame night, with many of their commanders in it, who ſtole away before the next morning to the other ſide of the river with ſir Phelim O Neal, who during the conflict was fled, crept, and hid in a furze-buſh, as I was afterwards informed: and thus the ſouth-ſide of the river was wholy cleared of the rebels, and plenty of corn and food began to be amongſt us. 1641.

The ſeveral happy ſucceſſes againſt the rebels ſtirred the lord Moore and other officers of quality, to crave that they might have competent forces aſſigned them to fall on the rebels quarter at Tullahallen; which I readily aſſented to, and cauſed four hundred foot and moſt of the horſe, to be in a readineſs to iſſue forth under the lord Moore's command: which was no ſooner done, but that I immediately cauſed three hundred foot and fifteen horſe remaining behind, to march forth under my own leading after them; for I conſidered that the rebels head quarter was at Bewly, that they had another quarter at Carſtown and Carlington; all which might with convenience fall in the rear of the lord Moore, and give aſſiſtance to their partners at Tullahallen: and as I ſuppoſed, by that time I was come near unto Kilanu[illegible], I could diſcern the rebels all upon their march; but

1641. they perceiving my ſtrength, which were ſo placed, that at a diſtance they appeared double the number, ſtood ſtill at a gaze, and went no farther: until within a ſtort time, news came to me of the proſperous ſucceſs of the lord Moore, who with the other officers behaved themſelves with ſuch valour and courage, that they forced the rebels from a place of advantage which they had betaken themſelves unto, and killed four hundred upon the place, with ſeven captains, and Art Roe Mac Mahon taken priſoner, whoſe head was valued in the proclamation to the taker or bringer in of him, at four hundred pound; and ſeveral others comprehended in the proclamation, were ſlain or taken by us without note or recompence. I finding the work done, without need of my aſſiſtance, turned myſelf with the party that I led, towards thoſe rebels that ſhewed themſelves imbodied at a diſtance, but I found they had no mind to engage; whereupon I burnt Newtown and other of their lodgings, and ſo returned into the town.

The evening after this day's glorious work, wherein God, as in former times, ſent us great deliverance, the rebels abandoned their head quarter at Bewly, and the villages adjoining unto it, and marched ſecretly away to Dundalk, whereof I had ſpeedy notice, and ſent forth a party the ſame night to poſſeſs Bewly, and to remain in garriſon in it, thereby preventing the rebels, who repenting of their ſudden departure, within leſs than an hour after my men were entered, returned thither to repoſſeſs the place; but finding unexpected oppoſition, forſook the attempt with the loſs of two of their men.

The

The next morning I rounded the country two or three miles about, ſaw many rebels on hills and places afar off, but as I made towards them they always avoided me. The country was left full of corn, and ſtored with cattle, which afforded us plentiful relief. A few days after I ſummoned Platten, a ſtrong caſtle garriſoned by the rebels, within two miles of Drogheda, but was not liſtned unto: yet three days after I returned thither ſtronger and better prepared to force them, then I was at the firſt; and finally, I received it on compoſition, that the garriſon ſhould depart unarmed, and carry away ſome few goods and proviſions with them. Before the ſurrender of this place, the marquis of Ormonde was marched forth of Dublin, to come to our relief; and though he were advertiſed by the way, of God's bleſſings upon us, yet he came forwards to rejoice with us in our deliverance, and to ſee the ſtate of affairs among us, with intention to proſecute the northern rebels until they were utterly deſtroyed: but the ſtate conceiving it too hazardous, withcalled him from the enterprize, and ſent me likewiſe directions to adventure no farther abroad than ſo as I might return the ſame day, and lodge in ſafety within the walls. My lord returned as he was required, and I by my letters beſought the council to withdraw their ſtrict limitation, in caſe they expected action from me, and conceived me capable after ſo many trials and hazards to do them ſervice. Upon this I was left again to my own way of proceeding, with a grave and ſound advice to be vigilant and careful in all my undertakings. The day following, early in the morning, I 1641.

1641. marched forth accompanied with the lord Moore, and a competent ſtrength of horſe and foot, unto Barnwell's of Rahaſkers houſe, and found him not dreſt, miſdoubting no viſitation of that kind: a little reſiſtance I found, but after a while he was contented to ſurrender, on promiſe that he might be a priſoner left unto the law, and not preſently put to death; for this Barnwell had ſerved beyond ſeas, was a colonel amongſt the rebels, and on whoſe head was ſet four hundred pound, as a recompence for any that brought him in dead or alive. That day, as I returned, I burnt ſome villages, took a large prey in cattle and ſheep, to the great ſatisfaction of the ſoldiers, who now fed plentifully after their long penury and want.

At this time there was a great rumour that the rebels would return to the ſiege of Drogheda, and that O Reily with his Cavan forces, conſiſting of two thouſand men, were that night to be lodged at Slane within five miles of us. This intelligence was delivered me about nine of the clock in the morning, and whether framed by the rebels to terrify me, or really believed by the reporter, I know not; but I, that I might not loſe the advantage of time, cauſed five hundred foot, with all the horſe, to be inſtantly in arms, and accompanied with the lord Moore, I marched unto the place, entered the town, took the caſtle, which the ſoldiers pillaged, and fired the houſes, that it might remain no future ſhelter for the rebels. Three days after, being ſtill alarmed with the rebels forces, which were famed to be many, and lodged at Atherdee, eight miles from Drogheda; and I, being deſirous to underſtand the certainty

tainty of their ſtrength and condition, which in regard of the infidelity of divers natives which I employed for intelligence (wanting better) I could not readily obtain, I drew forth twelve hundred foot and four troops of horſe, intending to diſcover it myſelf; and the 21ſt of March, with two days proviſion of victual, meaning within that ſpace to return, I marched to Slane, and reduced that caſtle, which the rebels had again repoſſeſt, and did ſome other things there which were formerly left imperfect. The ſame night I went two or three miles farther to lodge in a place of ſome ſtrength four or five miles ſideways from Atherdee. The rebels appeared in cluſters on ſeveral hills about me, but their footmanſhip or vigilance failed them, for the horſe I ſent forth ſurprized and overtook many of them, putting them to the ſword before they could recover a place of ſafety. 1641.

The next morning I ſet forward on my firſt deſign, with intention only to diſcover the enemies ſtrength, and not to advance my body of foot nearer than within two miles of Atherdee, that I might ſecure my forces upon the paſſes, and other places of advantage, in caſe I found the rebels, as was reported, (though I could hardly believe it) much too ſtrong to be dealt with: but my ſcouts gone forth, and alſo a party of horſe with thirty muſketeers to ſecure a paſs; after a march of two miles they diſcovered the rebels from the top of a ſteep hill in two diviſions, in the valley beneath, conſiſting, as they ſuppoſed, of two thouſand five hundred foot, and a body of horſe near unto them. Upon this advertiſement I ordered one hundred and twenty choice muſketeers to be drawn forth

1641. and to follow me with ſpeed, and join with the thirty muſketeers which were before them; and that the reſt of the foot ſhould advance after them a moderate pace. I took all the horſe with me, and went to the top of an hill where I had a full ſight of the rebels, whoſe foot were not leſs than two thouſand, as was afterwards confeſt by ſome of themſelves. Their horſes appeared in ſight to be fewer than ours, tho' there was preſent ſir Phelim O Neal, the lord of Louth, and divers of the nobility and prime gentry of the Pale, with many chief commanders of the northern rebels. I conſidered their number and order, and apprehending a fair poſſibility of routing them, commanded the horſe to follow me down the hill: the officers at firſt conceived ſome danger in it, but when I ſhewed them it was obſervable that the rebels were irreſolute in their purpoſes, and that upon the ſight of us they had not advanced one foot forward, tho' in regard of the ground before us, they might have done it with advantage to themſelves, in caſe that they had reſolved meaning to engage us; and that when we were down the hill we could not be prejudiced by them, except by ſome ſhot at random; and if the rebels ſhould retire, we had fit ground and opportunity to charge them; if they abode, I doubted not by God's aſſiſtance to do it with ſafety when the foot were come up to us. Hereupon we went down the hill, and by this time the one hundred and fifty muſketeers I had ordered to follow me a ſwift pace, were come up to me; I took of them a ſmall party, and cauſed them to give fire upon a hedge and ditch that was near a muſket ſhot right before one of the rebel's

rebel's diviſions of foot, miſtruſting ſome ambuſh, which upon the fire given immediately diſcovered itſelf, and began to retire; whereupon I perceived their diviſions to waver, and incline towards a retreat; and being loth to loſe the opportunity, I cauſed my other muſketeers to advance, and the horſe to offer a charge, which their horſe intending not to abide, gained their ſecurity by ſpeedy flight, and their foot with little diſpute followed after them. Their horſe abandoned the field the ſooner, becauſe they could diſcern that I had ſent forth a party of horſe towards the other end of the town to intercept their flight, the thing it ſeems they chiefly intended, in caſe they met with any oppoſition. There were ſlain of their foot ſeveral officers of note, and at leaſt ſix hundred private ſoldiers. 1642.

In proſecution of this victory, which God had given us, I found a ſtop at the gate, which the rebels had cloſed at the end of the bridge leading into the town, and from thence plyed us with ſome ſhot; but as ſoon as I had drawn a party of muſketeers to play upon them, I found their ſhooting abated, inſomuch, that I adventured over the bridge to the gate, and through the chinks I ſaw it was barricaded with ſtones; but upon the right hand of the bridge I perceived a ford, which I returned unto, and ordering the horſe to follow me, I entered, and charged thro' the town, where, at the end without the gate, the enemies horſe appeared to us again, ſtanding in good order, and, as we conceived, near unto us; but upon the matter, through the advantage of a bog, they were at leaſt half a mile from us; neither intended they a nearer

1641. nearer diſtance, for being moſt of them men of quality, and all well mounted, they betook themſelves immediately to their ſpeed, and were purſued by captain Marrow above three miles in vain. Some ſtragglers were ſnatched up, and between ſixty and ſeventy ſlain on the bog on the other ſide of the town; and many others had run the ſame fortune, but that moſt of my foot were buſie in pillaging the town, and could not be gotten together in convenient time to proſecute the ſervice.

At Atherdee I reſted the next day, being the 24th of March, and rode only with a party of horſe three or four miles farther into the country; and had a ſight of many rebels afar off, but met with no oppoſition from any of them.

That evening I moved the lord Moore and other chief officers to give me their advice touching a deſire I had of proſecuting this victory God had given us, as far as Dundalk; for it was evident that the rebels were terrified and amazed through this ſudden and unexpected overthrow befallen them, and to follow them cloſe would deprive them of preſent counſel and aſſurance in the way of defence. The lord Moore and all the officers embraced the motion with much chearfulneſs, and ſo the next morning, being Friday, I marched unto Hagardſtown, a village ſtrongly ſeated within two little miles of Dundalk, and lodged there that night.

The next morning we ſet forwards towards Dundalk, and ſir Phelim O Neal with his horſe, ſhewed himſelf without the gate that was next unto us; and I ſuppoſed he would likewiſe have drawn forth his foot, to meet us in the field, becauſe he could have trebled the

the ſtrength that was with me: but upon my nearer approach, ſir Phelim perceiving I would not forſake my advantage through fear of the number that were with him, he retired within the gates, and there attended my coming, giving fire from the walls, which continued thick for a while, until the valour of the officers and ſoldiers brought them under the walls of the ſuburbs, where in ſhort time they forced open the gate, and entered both horſe and foot: but the rebels that had before ſhewed great ſtands of pikes, were almoſt wholly retired into the inner town, and left a caſtle well manned in the midſt of the ſuburbs, which caſtle did much annoy us; and it was the opinion of many, that we had proceeded already beyond expectation, and that we might with honour forſake the enterprize. But my deſire was otherwiſe, the rather, becauſe it pleaſed God to ſend a ſudden ſtrong and favourable wind, which, when I had fired the ſuburbs, drove the ſmoak violently into the town, greatly annoying the rebels and furthering my deſign, inſomuch that under coverture of the ſmoak, I made uſe of my pioneers with leſs danger, and by degrees got cloſe under the caſtle, and heaped up much combuſtible ſtuff againſt the door and fired it; which cauſed the defendants to abandon their arms, and ſhift for themſelves, but little to the ſafety of the moſt of them. In the caſtle I placed ſome muſketeers to give fire on the enemy in the market place; and the ſmoak of the ſuburbs abating, I could ſee many rebels, for my greater encouragement, running forth at the north-ſide of the town; whereupon I ſent captain Marrow with a party of horſe towards 1642.

1641. wards that place, and followed after him myſelf with a few horſe, leaving direction with lieutenant colonel Biron to do the like with my diviſion of foot. When I came to the ſide, I might ſee ſir Phelim O Neal with his crew on horſeback, on the top of an hill on the other ſide the river, too far to be dealt withal; therefore I willed lieutenant-colonel Biron to fall on that part of the town where the wall was low and decayed, and had little other defence than a graff with water not impaſſable; but on the ſudden I could hear one calling behind me, that Marrow was charged by one hundred and twenty horſe, and diſtreſt: whereupon I cauſed the foot to make a ſtand, and returned to the relief of Marrow, whom I met ſoon after coming from the chace of the rebels, having met with no oppoſition. This falſe alarm being over, I purſued my former purpoſe, and willed the foot to proceed; and taking captain Marrow and thoſe horſe with me, I paſſed ſuddenly to the north-gate, at which the rebels run out: the gate I found open, and many unarmed people haſtening forth: thoſe we went regardleſly through, and made up to the market-place, where I found no reſiſtance, every one having ſhifted for himſelf; only the muſketeers which I placed in the caſtle in the ſuburbs did a little annoy us, miſtaking us for the enemy, until I made them underſtand the contrary by ſigns, and alſo ſending unto the lord Moore and the other officers that I was entered and poſſeſſed of the town.

Afterward I commanded all the horſe and foot to march in, and draw up in order in the market-place, and I cauſed the quarter-maſters

maſters to divide the town into quarters, proportionable to the companies of horſe and foot; and what booty was in any quarter, that I left to the officers and ſoldiers that were quartered in it, by a proportionable dividend amongſt them, whereby the confuſion and contention about pillaging was taken away, and I had the ſoldiers in a readineſs to anſwer the rebels motion and attempts, who rumoured great words, and ſtill ſwarmed very thick in thoſe parts: the number of the ſlain I looked not after, but there was little mercy ſhewed in thoſe times. 1641.

When the news of this ſucceſs came to Dublin, the ſtate apprehended that I was engaged into too imminent danger, and partly ſent me advice to abandon the place, which town being of importance for the ſervice, I neither thought it fit nor honourable to do, except I received a poſitive command and direction to that purpoſe; for I was confident to hold it againſt all the rebels forces that durſt appear before it: beſides, I conceived the ten thouſand Scots would not be idle when they ſhould hear that I was advanced ſo far north-ward, with an handful of men in compariſion of their numbers. The rebels were ſoon grown numerous again by the acceſs of ſome northern forces to their aid, and lodged in a ſtrong caſtle towards the Fews, about four miles from Dundalk; there I faced them ſeveral days, but they never adventured beyond their faſtneſs more than once, and that a little way with a party of horſe, which I cauſed to be ſoon met with (by God's continual bleſſing) to their diſadvantage, and killing a few (for they had a bog to friend) took Toby Guinne, a ſpecial favourite

1641. vourite of ſir Phelim O Neal, priſoner: this man had been bred amongſt us, and married to an Engliſhan's daughter, but now a degenerated, active, and notorious rebel; in which reſpect, notwithſtanding many promiſes of large ranſom or exchanges, I cauſed him to be preſently hanged in the ſight of ſir Phelim O Neal and his battalions.

About this time I had the news of the Scots coming towards Newry; and the next day I drew my foot upon the ſtrand towards Carlingford, that the rebels ſcouts might diſcern them marching, though I had no intention to leave Dundalk naked, in the view of ſir Phelim O Neal and his rebel companions on the other ſide: but talking the horſe with me, and giving order to the foot to return, as ſoon as I was out of ſight, I went ſtreight to Carlingford, with intention to ſummon the place, which I believed upon their ſcouts report of my foot following after me, would occaſion them to ſurrender on eaſy conditions; but it appeared their terror was too great to abide our coming, for drawing near, I ſaw the town on fire, and haſtening thither a party of my horſe, they overtook a ſea captain and ſome of his men in the ſtreet running into the caſtle, believing us to be of the rebels, which when they found otherwiſe, it was much to their contentment. From this captain I underſtood that lying with his ſhip in the harbour to attend the Scots motion with neceſſaries, that that morning the town and caſtle were haſtily fired by the inhabitants themſelves, and they all fled into the mountains; and that an Engliſh-woman or two that had eſcaped the general ſlaughter, were gotten into the caſtle, had hindred the fire in what they could, and wafted

wafted him thither, where he came, and found the ſtate of things to be as I then found them. I wiſhed him to make the beſt advantage of what the rebels had left behind, and to ſecure the caſtle with a guard until I could ſend a captain of foot to take it into his charge, having no other than horſe with me at that time. This he undertook to do, and performed it accordingly. 1641.

Upon my return the ſame night, I received a letter from the lord Conway, inviting me to viſit him and major-general Monroe at the Newry, that we might adviſe of a farther proſecution of the rebels. The day following I went thither with two troops of horſe and a troop of dragoons; and upon conference I conceived their intention and reſolution was, at my parting, to march unto Armagh, to chaſe the rebels out of all their faſtneſſes, and to clear the north: but a few days after I received another letter from the lord Conway, that they had deſerted that deſign for the preſent, and were returning back again, in reſpect their victuals was ſpent unto five days.

A while afterwards the Scots were earneſt with me to deliver the caſtle of Carlingford into their hands; which had been a great weakneſs in me to do, as it was preſumption in them to deſire, without the direction of the ſtate.

Sir Phelim O Neal and his partiſans grew very jolly upon the Scots return, and perſuaded themſelves of doing great matters againſt me: but their courage proved to be only in words, for I drew forth ſome days together into a convenient field near unto them; but finding that they did only put themſelves in arms, and would no more now than formerly forſake

1641 forſake their ſtrength to draw into equality of ground, notwithſtanding their advantage of numbers, I concluded they were in another ſort to be dealt with; and from thenceforth, for the moſt part, I fell every other morning into their quarters, and continued theſe viſitations for ſeveral weeks together, with the ſlaughter of very many of them, eſpecially the new plantation in the county of Monaghan, and at the taking in of Hary ONeal's houſe in the Fews; inſomuch, that by this courſe, and the like acted often by the garriſon at Drogheda, there was neither man nor beaſt to be found in ſixteen miles between the two towns of Drogheda and Dundalk; nor on the other ſide of Dundalk, in the county of Monaghan, nearer than Carick-mac-Croſs, a ſtrong pile twelve miles diſtant.

And notwithſtanding this continual travel abroad, I went forwards at home with the help of the officers and ſoldiers (wherein they chearfully concurred with me) to raiſe a parapet on one ſide of the town of Dundalk, (that was naked of other defence than a large graff with water) and to repair the walls on the other ſide that were greatly broken. I likewiſe cut off part of the town to make it more defenſible with a large ditch and parapet; and made a draw-bridge, and raiſed two platforms to ſecure the curtains with three pieces of ordnance I had taken from the rebels: and all this was done without a penny charge to the ſtate, or any allowance ever given me in conſideration of it. Beſides I laid in ſixty tuns of coals for the courts of guard againſt winter, and gave ſuch cattle as were due to me for my ſhare in recompence of them: this was never by me accounted for. It may be farther

farther remembered, that for the ſpace of ſeven months and upwards, from the beginning of the ſiege of Drogheda, I never received but five weeks means, all that were under my command living on ſuch preys as were forced from the rebels. The country and fields about Dundalk were abounding in corn, which I allotted to the ſeveral companies, to be reaped by themſelves, towards their preſent relief and future ſubſiſtence. 1641.

About the midſt of June I went to Dublin, and after a few days ſtay I returned unto my charge, proſecuting the rebels, as I had formerly done. In Auguſt I went again to Dublin, and ſtaying a ſhort time there I came back to Drogheda, where I remained until the lord Liſle went forth with part of the army to remove the rebels from about Trim, in which expedition I waited on his lordſhip with five hundred choice foot: and that ſervice ended by the rebels firing the caſtle they poſſeſt, and retreating, and my lord's taking of Clone in the county of Weſt-meath, burning the houſe at Lough Ramor and Virginia; and taking of Carrick-mac-Croſs in the county of Monaghan, with great ſtore of prey, and deſtruction of the rebels.

His lordſhip returned, and I attended him unto Drogheda, where I remained as in my place of ſettlement; for about this time the lord Moore received a commiſſion from his majeſty for the command of the county of Louth, and the barony of Slane; whereupon I ſurrendered the garriſon of Dundalk, as comprized in that grant, with ſuch corn, hay, and cattle as was provided for my own ſpending, eighty barrels of herrings, three hundred twenty four barrels of corn, near ſeventy tuns

1641 of coals in the ſtore for the guards, the works about the town repaired and fortifyed as aforeſaid, without one penny charge to the ſtate. And from that time I applyed myſelf to the neceſſities of Drogheda, where the former plenty being now conſumed, and little relief to be obtained from Dublin, I had many wants to contend with, which I endeavoured to remedy by drawing all the cattle and corn I could procure, into the ſtore, and buying ſome with my ready money. And all this while, and to the concluding of the ceſſation, I never ſold cow or barrel of bread-corn for my peculiar uſe, but turned all to the furtherance of the publick. And of other pillage I rarely received any; but left it for the moſt part entire to the officers and ſoldiers, who deſerved greater recompence, adventuring themſelves with much valour, reſolution and patience in the daily proſecution of the ſervice. Many of the rebels were ſlain at ſeveral times; but the moſt, and moſt remarkable during this winter, was at the mill of Kells, which they obſtinately maintained.

In March the marquis of Ormonde led the army, with the flower of the garriſon of Drogheda and other adjacent garriſons, towards Roſs; and I receiving intelligence that the rebels intended to ſend of their Northern forces, to aſſiſt their party in thoſe quarters againſt the marquis of Ormonde, I moved the lord Moore to draw the beſt ſtrength he could conveniently from Dundalk; and ſending for thoſe that might be ſpared from Trim, I met them at Kells, the appointed rendezvous, with a party from Drogheda, where we made in all eleven hundred foot and one hundred and twenty horſe. At Kells we took a few priſoners

priſoners that were not aware of their danger, and amongſt them one Plunket a popiſh arch-deacon. Part of their Cavan forces were then near us, and ſent a drummer pretending to treat an exchange or ranſom of the arch-deacon: the drummer, as is the cuſtom of ſuch fellows, ſpoke much of the ſtrength and valour of the Caven men; and I, that I might make a little uſe of his errand, which was, as I conceived, rather (if he could) to diſcover our ſtrength and intention, than to redeem the priſoners, told him, that I thought to have gone through Weſtmeath toward the county of Longford: but ſince he ſpoke ſo much of the number and courage of the Cavan forces near me, I would turn my courſe that way, leſt I might be diſhonoured in ſeeming to decline them, for fear of their power and ability to reſiſt me. The drummer appearing to be perplexed, becauſe his boaſting was like to bring inconvenience upon his country, not formerly intended; wherefore I ſaid farther (for I knew it would have wings when it came amongſt them) that I would at leaſt (that I might not appear to be terrify'd) lodge that night in the county of Cavan, it not being two miles out of my way into the county of Longford. And after we were all in a readineſs to march I diſmiſſed the drummer, chearful in the apprehenſion that he had diſcovered ſo much of my purpoſe. That night we went eight miles into the county of Cavan, ſaw many rebels, but they knew their diſtance; yet at Lough Ramor, in an iſland, we lighted on the earl of Fingall's two children, thirty caſe of new piſtols, with other goods, that could not be ſuddenly taken away when he fled from thence. 1641.

1641. That night, about one of the clock, the moon ſhining, we ſet forth towards the cavan, came thither ſeaſonably the next day, and unexpected, the rebels being ſecure on their drummer's report that I intended another way; the town was ſoon abandoned, and every man ſhifted for himſelf. The next day the rebels were gotten together, fought with us at Ballyhays: afterwards at a bridge within three miles of Belturbet. We routed them at both places in one day, took two captains and ſeveral other priſoners, beſides many of their ſoldiers and ſome remarkable men ſlain by us. We freed divers Engliſh that were in reſtraint among them, and killed a rebel as he was firing a houſe, where there were ten Engliſh ſhut up ready to be burnt. I ſtaid two days entire in thoſe parts, burnt Ballyhays, the Cavan, and other places, and then returned with a great prey; which ſerved much to the relief of our ſeveral garriſons, in thoſe days of exceeding wants and great extremeties.

About the latter end of April, when I had prepared to fall into the county of Longford, I was fain to forſake that deſign, and to repair to Dublin, whether I was called by his Majeſty's letter to be one of his Juſtices; a charge as far above my expectation or deſire, as unſuitable to my parts or fortune: yet there being a neceſſity of my obedience, I framed my ſelf to the beſt of my capacity to advance the public ſervice, and finding the army in the higheſt extremity of want, all ways and means already ſought and run through for their ſupport, even to the ſeizing the native commodities of the Kingdom; hides, tallow, and ſuch like, taken from ſhipboard after the cuſtoms paid, and expoſed to ſale.

ſale. I was wonderfully perplexed, and Sir John Borlace, his Majeſty's other juſtice, and my ſelf, with the council, daily aſſembled: we ſpent the whole time in ſending complaint into England, both to King and Parliament; in the mean time borrowing, taking up, and engaging the whole board for money, and all ſorts of victual and commodities convertible to the ſoldiers relief. 1641.

Amidſt theſe extremeties his Maieſty's letter came over, ſignifying his Majeſty's ſorrow, and diſability to relieve us, in regard of the troubles in England. All mens eyes were on the parliament, but no ſuccours in thoſe times arriving from thence to ſupport the forces, his Majeſty permitted a treaty to be had with the Iriſh touching a ceſſation of arms, in caſe all other helps were failing: which was generally ſo diſagreeing to the board, that moſt of them deſired to run any fortune and extremety of famiſhing, rather than yield unto it. And truly, I was ſo much of that opinion that when the Marquis of Ormonde made offer that if he might be advanc'd 10000 l. part victuals, part ſhoes and ſtockings, and part money, that he would immediately draw towards the rebels, and either compel them to run the hazard of the field, or to forſake their quarters, and leave them to the ſpoil of our ſoldiers, which might prove to them a future ſubſiſtance. And when Theodore Scout and the reſt of the merchants of Dublin had refuſed to advance the money upon the ſecurity of all the lands of the whole board, and the cuſtoms of Dublin, for the intereſt of the money; I moved the board, there being at that time one and twenty counſellors preſent, and my ſelf of meaneſt for-

1641. tune amongſt them, that every one for himſelf, out of his peculiar means and credit, would procure 3001. which amongſt us all would raiſe 63001. For even with that ſum, and ſuch means as the Marquis of Ormonde ſhould procure himſelf, he offered to undertake the work, and that there ſhould be no farther mention of a ceſſation amongſt us. But this motion of mine finding no place, the ceſſation in ſhort time began to be treated on, and was in ſincerity of heart as much hindered and delayed by me, as was in my power; for I believed it would be hurtfull to the public, and therefore I caſt in rubs to lengthen the treaty, expecting daily relief and money from England, whither Sir Thomas Wharton was employed with the ſad ſtories of the public miſeries. Thus was the ceſſation laid aſide for a while, which was afterwards renewed at Gigenſtown.

At that time Owen O Neal fell into our quarters, and took ſeveral caſtles, for want of competent forces to oppoſe him, whereupon, underſtanding that Monroe with a flouriſhing army of Scots was in the county of Armagh, and in three days march might be brought to our aſſiſtance; I moved the board to write unto him, to advance his forces, and join with us againſt the common enemy. And becauſe the meſſage might be the better accepted, colonel Crawford was employed unto him with the aforeſaid letter, and particular advice and perſwaſion from myſelf to haſten his coming. How colonel Crawford acquitted himſelf in the diſcharge of his truſt, will beſt appear by Monroe's anſwer, who had formerly intimated unto the Lord Moore his voluntary readineſs to joyn with

with us; but now invited, and that by a power whereunto he was ſubordinate, he refuſed to come, becauſe the marquis of Ormond had not ſigned the letter ſent unto him; though he could not but be informed from colonel Crawford, that the marquis of Ormond was abſent upon the treaty; and that the letter could not in convenience of time be tranſmitted unto him, returned and ſent, with expectation of that ſpeedy remedy we were neceſſarily to reap by it. 1642.

Now this hope falling, as a broken reed not to be relyed on, colonel Monk was called from good ſucceſs in the county of Wicklow, to join with the lord Moore for the ſuccour of Meath, where the lord Moore was unhappily ſlain: yet the expectation of victual and relief from England ſtoped the haſty progreſs of the ceſſation, until the evening, as I take it, of the 11th or 12th of September, when a fleet of ſhips was diſcovered near the harbour, to the great joy of all honeſt hearts: but the next morning, one captain Dauſke, that was come in with the fleet of proviſions, and had landed the night before, returned early on ſhipboard, hoiſted ſail, forſook the harbour, and compelled ſeventeen barks laden with neceſſaries from Liverpool and other places, to do the like. On what ground or intelligence he did it, is yet unknown; but this ſo rare and unlooked for accident amazed all men, put the ſoldiers into a mutiny, and drew on a very unprofitable, and in my apprehenſion, a very diſhonourable ceſſation to be concluded with the rebels, with very much diſlike of moſt of thoſe that were actors in the treaty.

1641. Sir John Borlace and myſelf continued the place of juſtices until about Chriſtmas following, and then by his majeſty's direction delivered up the ſword to the marquis of Ormond; and I retiring myſelf to my former charge at Drogheda, laboured to ſupport that garriſon, that in due time it might be ſerviceable to the crown of England. And when the ſummer following the Scotch forces advanced into Weſtmeath, returned by our quarters, and lodged at Atherdee, though they profeſt themſelves oppoſite to our party, and had proffered ſome acts of hoſtility, yet did I not forbid nor hinder proviſion to be ſent unto them, as ſome ſnarlers at all my actions have untruly ſuggeſted: but the truth is, they abounded in all proviſions, and ſtaid at Atherdee but one night, inſomuch that the drink and other neceſſaries that ſeveral perſons of Drogheda had provided, could not come timely enough to them, as was deſired.

About eight or ten days after that the Scotch army was returned into the North, the earl of Caſtlehaven and Owen Roe O Neal, with all the Iriſh ſtrength, came unto Atherdee, and remained in thoſe parts, as I remember, about fourteen days; and during the time of their abode, they required the benefit of the market, for the buying of ſuch proviſions as were needful for them, and that the town and garriſon might ſpare: which demand agreeing with the article of ceſſation, could not be in reaſon abſolutely denyed by me, except I would draw their united forces on Drogheda, the garriſon being weak, and unable to oppoſe them. And this was a thing that was propoſed amongſt

mongſt them by Owen Roe O Neal, as I was informed. However, I caſt in many rubs, and found ſeveral ways to delay their deſire of commerce, until at laſt the earl of Caſtlehaven ſent his lieutenant general to underſtand the reaſon of my Backwardneſs, and to expoſtulate the matter with me at large: and then indeed I had direction from Dublin to grant them their deſire; whereupon I ſent for Mr. Alderman Geves, the preſent mayor of the town, and told him in the preſence of the lieutenant general, that the articles of the ceſſation afforded free traffick for either party; and that a provident care being in the firſt place taken for the neceſſities of the town, the benefit of the market might be granted unto thoſe that were without; and the lieutenant general might appoint ſome one of the inhabitants of the town to buy ſuch proviſions for the uſe of the Iriſh army, as could conveniently be ſpared. Whereupon he named one Dardis, who came unto me to know whether he might with ſafety, and without future blame, be employed by them: and I told him, he might; for I was not willing that any of theirs ſhould lodge in the town, or frequent our markets. The proviſion that they had, was moſt drink. Of 160 barrels of wheat bought for their uſe, I cauſed the moiety to be ſtoped. Some oatmeal they had, and courſe bread of beans and peaſe was carried forth by private perſons to be ſold unto them. The whole quantities are extant in the exciſe-books of Drogheda, not amounting in all to the value of 800l. moſt of it being in beer, and of little relief to the Iriſh army; though much hath been ſpoken on this ſubject to traduce me,

1641.

1641. me, by foul mouths, and perſons of unſound hearts, which hath cauſed me the rather thus far to inſiſt on this particular.

From that time I continued conſtant in my care and charge, without intermeddling in other affairs, until certain overtures of peace were propounded by the Iriſh party, in my opinion very unequal as deſtructive to the proteſtant religion, exceeding hurtful to his majeſty's preſent ſervice, and to the utter ruin of the Engliſh intereſt in this kingdom.

And that his majeſty might rightly underſtand the conditions of the Iriſh, and the nature and quality of their demands, I was ſent among others unto Oxford, with the whole paſſages of the treaty, and did acquit my ſelf with that freedom in every particular, as became the loyalty and fidelity I owe unto my king and country. And at our return from Oxford, all of us that were upon the aforeſaid employment were taken at ſea, between Wales and Ireland, and carried priſoners unto London, and committed to the tower: a bad recompence of my endeavours. Yet I cannot juſtly complain, becauſe foul and falſe accuſations were exhibited againſt me, which coming to be juſtified, had not ſo much as a ſhadow of truth.

Afterwards I was enlarged on exchange, and continued my command in Ireland with the ſame duty, zeal and affection to the ſervice of my king and country, as I had formerly done, and in purſuance thereof, the commiſſioners ſent over by the parliament being willing to continue my employment, I embraced it with chearfulneſs, and in a few days paſſing from Dublin to Drogheda, with a ſmall convoy of fifteen horſe, and as many more officers

ters of quality and valour, beſides ſome tra- 1641.
vellers and merchants, we were way-laid by near three hundred rebels, choice horſe, well armed and mounted; whom notwithſtanding, it being a caſe of neceſſity, we boldly charged, killed the captain that led them; and there, in the midſt of the rebels, a young man (to ſay no more of him, becauſe he was my ſon) of fair hopes was to my continual ſorrow unfortunately ſlain. Afterwards we made good our retreat three miles, loſing in it and in the firſt place of combat thoſe eleven men; and amongſt them lieutenant colonel Trevor, a gentleman of ſingular worth and valour. Neither had the rebels much to vaunt of, for they loſt two leaders of quality and ſix troopers. This I relate the more particularly, becauſe the oppoſition they found in ſo ſmall a party ſerved greatly to abate their courage, when we met them ſome nine or ten days after, at the battle of Dungan hill. At that battle I led the rear-guard of the army, and acquitted my ſelf in that days ſervice as became me; whereof the parliament, without any motion or expectation of mine, were pleaſed to take ſo far notice as to vote me 200l. A while after I fell into the county of Cavan, took a great prey from the rebels, burnt much of their corn, and returned without the loſs of one man.

In November following I had notice, and gave colonel Jones an advertiſement of Owen Roe O Neal's preparations and march towards our quarters; and this being Saturday in the evening, I ſent immediately directions that night to the horſe at Drogheda and the garriſons in thoſe parts, conſiſting of two regiments and five troops, to be with me at Trim on

1641. on Monday morning following: and accordingly ſeven troops came to me, as the reſt might have done to the advantage of the ſervice, but did it not at that time. With theſe ſeven troops I followed the rear-guard of O Neal, and ſometimes on his flank, from Monday till Thurſday following, taking and killing divers of his men that were left to *fire* our quarters; by which means I preſerved much of the country from ſpoil. On Thurſday in the afternoon the reſt of the horſe came up to me; and alſo I received a letter from colonel Jones, in any caſe to joyn with him, near Dublin, if poſſibly I could; which I effected at Donſin three miles from Dublin, between ten and eleven that night. The next morning we marched after Owen Roe, and before night overtook him with his army, between Ratothe and Garriſtown. That we then fought not with him, he being on his retreat in a kind of flying poſture, was the advice and counſel of warier men than myſelf; for advantage ought not to be loſt through the fear of the number of the enemy, ſince the flight of the baſer ſort ſerves to rout the moſt valorous; and we had many hopeful reaſons to make a tryal of at that time: but colonel Jones, though not ignorant of the occaſion, yet would not be perſwaded by me; but delayed the execution of it till the next day, which Owen Roe, by ſtealing away that night utterly prevented.

Not long after I entered into the county of Weſtmeath with a conſiderable party of horſe and foot, took in the town of Foore and another caſtle, and burnt them; with ſeveral other places, and abundance of corn in

in ſtore and ſtack, as far as Multefarnam, inſomuch that when I was returned with a great prey, the rebels ſent from Mullingar to offer themſelves under contribution. In my way to Weſtmeath major Cadogan with a party of foot took in a ſtrong houſe that before the rebellion belonged to himſelf with a neſt of fifteen or ſixteen notorious rebels. Other ſervices were done that journey, which, in regard they met with no oppoſition, I forbear to particularize. 1641.

The remainder of that winter I often fell into the counties of Cavan and Monaghan, always with ſucceſs, to the deſtruction of many of the rebels, and the gaining of conſiderable preys: for the want we ſuffered, and the neceſſity of our condition, required us to run many hazards, thereby to gain ſubſiſtence.

In the ſpring colonel Monck drew a party out of the North, marched through the rebels quarters, drove all before him; and by agreement, I fell in on the other ſide, compaſſed a great part of the county of Cavan, went through the waſted town of Cavan, paſt by Ballyhays and other places, and met colonel Monck on the borders, between the counties of Cavan and Monaghan. Between us we took a great prey from the rebels, diſtreſt them in all places where they made oppoſition, which was not conſiderable; inſomuch that though they loſt much cattle, few were ſlain in the defence of them. I afterwards made other roads to the ſame purpoſe, and ever with happy returns.

In July colonel Jones ſent me two culverins with a party of foot from Dublin, to ſtrengthen thoſe I could conveniently draw from

1641. from Drogheda and the garriſons about me, that I might be enabled to go before Ballyhoe and other holds and caſtles of the rebels, which much annoyed our frontiers; and colonel Monck drew forth a party out of Dundalk, and ſat down on the other ſide of Ballyhoe, in the county of Monaghan. The next morning after my arrival I ſent forth a party, and took in a caſtle that defended a paſs on Logan water, between colonel Monck and myſelf. The rebels in Ballyhoe were confident of their ſtrength, and comforted with expectation of relief, which made them bold and reſolute to endure the battery, and defend the place: but when the breach appeared in ſome ſort aſſaultable, they beat a parley; and though we were at firſt reſolved not to liſten to them, in regard of their obſtinacy, yet at laſt we condeſcended to forbear a little, and hear their demands; and thereupon ſome of the officers and ſoldiers appearing more openly than formerly, in confidence of the parley, the rebels inſtantly gave fire upon us. Colonel Monck and myſelf ſtanding on the battery cloſe together, a bullet paſt through one of the culverin ladles, and in the deſcent touched my hat, and fell on colonel Monck's ſtrap of his buff hangers and girdle, cut them both through, and reſted in his buff coat without farther hurt; but colonel Ponſonby was ſhot in the leg, a little below the knee: whereupon we gave preſent order to fall on, as we were formerly prepared to do; and by God's aſſiſtance took it by aſſault, putting all to the ſword (for the moſt part) that were found in it, which were many, in regard moſt of the

the rebels that inhabited thereabouts were retired thither. 1641.

This caſtle taken, colonel Monck returned to Dundalk, and I went forward to the Nabhor and Cruce's fort, both ſtrong places; but upon my advance deſerted by the rebels, as ſeveral other caſtles were, or delivered without a ſtroke, to the number of nine, whereof moſt were blown up, the reſt garriſoned by me. I could have proceeded farther; but I had order to return, and did ſo accordingly about the beginning of Auguſt; at which time there was a great fame of the marquis of Ormonde's landing in Munſter, and ſeveral officers that had ſerved under him heretofore againſt the rebels (upon no ground that ever could appear, but the jealouſie of the times) were ſent priſoners into England, others clapt in priſon in the caſtle of Dublin and at Drogheda. I was informed that the like proceeding was intended againſt myſelf, and that I was the firſt in the liſt to be ſent over into England; but having the charge of thoſe forces abroad, the time was not then ſeaſonable: whereupon I wrote to colonel Jones, that I underſtood I was drawn into ſuſpicion through ſome malicious repreſentation of me in England; and therefore that I might not be prejudicial to him and the ſervice of Ireland, nor receive ſo bad a recompence of my many hazards and faithful endeavours againſt the rebels in this war, as to be made an undeſerved priſoner, I craved his licence to go over into England, that if any crime could be laid unto my charge, I would be there ready to clear myſelf, or undergo the puniſhment proper for it: which colonel Jones granted.

And

1641. And although at my coming to London I had liberty from the council of ſtate to return to my command, yet becauſe the times were full of jealouſies, and that I was not alike grounded in all men's opinions (for ſome buſineſs of mine being debated in the houſe, it appeared there were many that had a prejudicate opinion of me) I therefore freely repoſed my arms, and forſook my employment.

I have not written this to glorify myſelf, but to leave you, my dearly beloved, theſe few memorials of my actions, wherein it pleaſed God to uſe me inſtrumentally, that you may the better frame your addreſs to the lawful favour of thoſe that have power to aſſiſt you in the recovery of my ſeveral diſburſements made for the army, and my perſonal arrears. But look not on them, my dear, as a large and precious legacy; nor do not murmur or repine, though your ſuits and juſt deſires are rejected: for God is all ſufficient, on whom alone I beſeech you and your family wholly to depend, making that the ſole end of your buſineſs to fear him, and keep his commandments: ſo ſhall you be ſure, in all conditions and eſtates, to find content here, and eternal felicity hereafter, which God grant us all. The laſt petition of your affectionate huſband,

HENRY TICHBORNE.

June 8th,
1651.

The

The names of the ſeveral captains, as they came in for our defence at Drogheda. 1641.

October 26, 1641.

THE lord viſcount Moore of Drogheda, with his troop of horſe conſiſting of ſixty-ſix.

Sir John Nettervile, Rockly, captains.--With their two half ſtanding companies.

Seafowle Gibſon, Captain.-----His company of the Engliſh inhabitants and other proteſtants were to the number of 120.

November the 4th, 1642.

Sir Henry Tichborne, colonel, and governor of the town.-----His company of foot.

Sir John Borlace, Lt. Colonel Byron, Lt. Colonel Wenmond, captains.------Theſe three, though having been before officers of the field, yet out of their zeal to the preſent ſervice, came as private captains.

Jacob Lovel, ſerjeant-major, who died in the ſiege.

Chicheſter Forteſcue, Edward Billingſley, John Morris, William Willoughby, Lewis Owens, captains.

The troops of horſe.

John Sloughter, captain, lieutenant to ſir Thomas Lucas, commiſſary general.

Thomas Grymes, lieutenant to ſir Adam Loftus.

November the 10th.

Henry Bryan, Patrick Trevor, Foulke Martin, captains.

November the 22d.

1641. Chriſtopher Roger, ſerjeant-major, William Cadogan, Charles Sownſley, captains.---Theſe three captains eſcaped very defective in their companies from the defeat at the bridge of Gilliamſtown.

Fifty horſe under the command of ſir Patrick Weymes, captain lieutenant to the earl of Ormonde.

February the 20th, with our ſecond relief.

Richard Borrows, Edward Trevor, William Hamilton, captains.

When all the aforeſaid captains (excepting the regiment of ſir Henry Tichborne) were appointed to be under my lord Moore's command.

WE whoſe names are here underwritten, who have been and continued captains within the town of Drogheda, during the ſiege, and ſo eye-witneſſes of moſt things which have fallen out in it, having duly and diligently read over this book, entitled, "the hiſtory of the ſiege of Drogheda;" do hereby according to the ſeveral times of our coming thither, and according to our beſt remembrace, confirm this forgoing hiſtory to be wholly truth: and do teſtify it to be in each particular very impartially and fully related. As witneſs our hands this eleventh day of June, 1651.

Seaf. Gibſon,
Jo. Sloughter,
Robert Byron,
Rich. Borrows,
Phil. Wenman,
P. Weymes.

The

The lord viſcount Moore of Drogheda, his confirmation of the truth of the forgoing hiſtory. 1641.

HOwſoever the known integrity of the author is a ſufficient teſtimony of itſelf, yet (having the ſecond time read over this book, entitled, "the hiſtory of the ſiege of Drogheda," where I have been an eye-witneſs of what hath been done from the beginning of it,) I do hereby (according to the atteſtation of the ſix other captains, and in anſwer to the deſire of ſuch as have conceived it neceſſary) confirm this foregoing hiſtory to be wholly truth, and in each particular to be fully and very impartially written, (only declining throughout ſuch paſſages as may concern myſelf.) As witneſs my hand this 22d of June, 1651.

MOORE.

THE WHOLE

TRYAL

OF

CONNOR Lord MAC-GUIRE,

WITH

The perfect Copies of the **Indictment**, and all the **Evidences** againſt him.

ALSO,

The Copy of Sir PHELIM O NEIL's Commiſſion, the POPE's Bull to the Confederate CATHOLICKS in

IRELAND:

WITH

Many remarkable Paſſages of the GRAND REBELLION there, from the firſt Riſe thereof to this preſent. His Plea of PEERAGE, and ſeveral Anſwers: With the ſeveral Replies made to him.

By the King's Sergeant at Law, and Sergeant ROLL. WILLIAM PRYNNE, Eſquire; and M. NUDIGATE.

AND

The Copies of the ſeveral Teſtimonies brought in againſt him at his Tryal at the King's Bench-Bar, in Hillary Term laſt:

BY

The Lord Blaney,	Sir Fran. Hamilton,	John Carmicke,
Lady Caulfield,	Sir Edw. Borlacey,	Walter Gubſon,
Sir Arthur Loftus,	Sir William Cole,	M. Bunbury,
Sir John Temple,	Sir Charles Coote,	Cap. Mich. Balfoure,
Sir William Stewart,	Mrs. Wordrofe,	Captain Berisford.

THERE will be no need of making any long preamble to this buſineſs of the lord Mac-Guire: there is none of us but have cauſe to be very ſenſible of it in ſome of our blood, ſome dear friend, or at leaſt ſome acquaintance in the preſent unhappy war enſuing this moſt damnable Treaſon, plotted by him and his confederates; the particulars whereof you will find in order, which are in themſelves ſo copious, and ſatisfactory, that it will not need any other pointing out than the order it lies in. 1641.

Here followeth a proclamation publiſhed upon the firſt diſcovery of the plot.

A proclamation, by the lords juſtices and council.

William Parſons. John Borlace.

THESE are to make known and publiſh to all his majeſty's good ſubjects in this kingdom of Ireland, that there is a diſcovery made to us the lords juſtices and council, of a moſt diſloyal and deteſtable conſpiracy intended by ſome evil affected Iriſh papiſts, againſt the lives of us, the lords juſtices and council, and many others of his majeſty's faithful ſubjects univerſally throughout this kingdom, and for the ſeizing not only of his majeſty's caſtle of Dublin, his majeſty's principal fort here, but alſo of the other fortifications in this kingdom: and ſeeing by the great goodneſs and abundant mercy of almighty God to his majeſty and this ſtate and kingdom, thoſe wicked conſpiracies are brought to light, and ſome of the conſpira-

1641. tors committed to the caſtle of Dublin, by us, by his majeſty's authority, ſo as thoſe wicked and damnable plots are now diſappointed in the chief parts thereof: we therefore have thought fit hereby not only to make it publickly known, for the comfort of his majeſty's good and loyal ſubjects in all parts of the kingdom, but alſo hereby to require them that they do with all confidence and chearfulneſs betake themſelves to their own defence, and ſtand upon their guard, ſo to render the more ſafety to themſelves and all the kingdom beſides, and that they advertiſe us with all poſſible ſpeed of all occurrences which may concern the peace and ſafety of the kingdom, and now to ſhew fully that faith and loyalty, which they have always ſhewn for the publick ſervices of the crown and kingdom, which we will value to his majeſty accordingly, and a ſpecial memory thereof will be retained for their advantage in due time: and we require, that great care be taken that no levies of men be made for foreign ſervice, nor any men ſuffered to march upon any ſuch pretence.

Given at his majeſty's caſtle at Dublin, 23 Octob. 1641.

R. Dillon,	Ro. Digby,
Ad. Loftus,	J. Temple,
Tho. Rotheram,	Fr. Willoughby,
J. Ware,	Rob. Meredith.

God ſave the king.

The rebellion (notwithſtanding this proclamation) went on ſtill; for though it took not

not at Dublin, where this lord Mac-Guire, Mac-Mahon, and ſome other conſpirators were diſcovered, and apprehended and many of the rebels were diſperſed by reaſon thereof; yet they called them in again, from time to time, by warrants, (of which ſort here is the copy of one under Plunket's own hand,) and have ever ſince continued this rebellion. 1641.

By the right honourable the general aſſembly of the confederate catholicks of Ireland.

THESE are to will and command you forthwith to make diligent ſearch and enquiries within your ſeveral towns, villages, quarters and corporations, for all ſuch ſoldiers as are come from the Fort of Duncannon, ſithence the late ceſſation; which were under the command of captain Ralph Capron, and captain Edward Aſhton: and whereſoever they or any of them ſhall be found, their bodies to reſtrain and deliver unto the ſaid captains, upon demand by the ſaid captains, or either of them, the ſaid captains faithfully promiſſing not to inflict any further puniſhment upon the ſaid ſoldiers, or any of them, for this their firſt fault; whereof you may not fail, as you and and every of you will anſwer the contrary. And for ſo doing, ſhall be a ſufficient warrant,

Given at Waterford the 15th of November, 1643.

N. Plunket.

To all his majeſty's ſheriffs, ſovereigns, portriffs, bayliffs, colonels, captains, commanders, and other officers whom it may concern within the county of Wexford, or elſewhere.

And

1642. And in this bloody war plotted and begun in Ireland by this lord Mac-guire, and his confederates, and ſeconded in England: how many thouſand of men, women, and children have loſt their lives; and for this the rebels plead great authority, as appears by this declaration following.

A declaration of the lords, gentry, and others of Leinſter and Munſter, of their intentions towards the Engliſh and Scotiſh proteſtants, inhabitants within this kingdom.

WHereas we are informed, that it is generally conceived and believed by the Engliſh and Scotiſh proteſtants inhabitants of this kingdom, that we the lords, gentry, and others of the ſaid kingdom, have taken arms, and taken forces, for the extirpation and baniſhing of them out of this kingdom, thereby to acquire to ourſelves their goods and eſtates: we therefore deſire to be rightly underſtood; for we hereby declare, that we never conſented, nor intended, nor neither will intend, nor condeſcend to any ſuch act, but do utterly diſclaim them; but that each man known to be a moderate conformable proteſtant, may (as well as the romiſh catholicks) reſpectively live and enjoy the freedom of their own religion, and peaceably and quietly poſſeſs their own eſtates, ſo far forth as they, or any of them, ſhall join with us in this oath following:

I A. B. do in the preſence of almighty God, and all the angels and ſaints, and by the contents of the bible, promiſe, vow, ſwear and

and proteſt, to bear true faith and allegiance to our ſovereign lord king Charles, and the heirs and ſucceſſors of his body begotten, and will defend him and them, as far as I may, with my life, power, and eſtate, againſt all perſons that attempt any thing againſt his or their perſons, honours, eſtates, and dignities; and that I will with the expoſing of my life, power, and eſtate, join with the ſaid Iriſh or any other, to recover his eſtate, royal prerogatives forcibly wreſted from him by the puritans, in the houſes of parliament in England, and to maintain the ſame againſt them and all others, that ſhall directly or indirectly endeavour to ſuppreſs or do any act contrary to regal government; as alſo to maintain epiſcopal juriſdiction, and the lawfulneſs thereof in the church, powers and priviledges of prelates, and the lawful rights and priviledges of the ſubjects: * "and I will do no act or thing, directly or indirectly, to hinder the free and publick exerciſe of the romiſh catholick religion in any his majeſty's dominions;" and that I will join with, and be aſſiſtant to the members of this commonwealth for redreſs to be had of the grievances and preſſures thereof, in ſuch manner and form as ſhall be thought fit by a lawful parliament, and to my power, as far as I may, I will oppoſe and bring to condign puniſhment, even to loſs of life, liberty and eſtate, of all ſuch as either by force, or practice, counſels, plots, conſpiracies or otherwiſe, do, or attempt any thing to the contrary of any article, clauſe or any thing in this preſent oath, vow, or proteſtation, contained; and neither for reward, fear, or puniſhment, or any

1641.

* Note this.

1645. any reſpect whatſoever, ſhall relinquiſh this oath and proteſtation. So help me God.

This declaration and oath was entred in the council book of Kilkenny, and this is a true copy thereof. Witneſs the hand of

Jeremy Green, clerk of the ſupreme council of Kilkenny.

God ſave the king.

By the confederate catholicks of the ſupreme council,

WHereas the Scotiſh army in the province of Ulſter, and other their adherents, in the ſaid province, and other parts of the kingdom, have of late (as often before) taken a traiterous oath of covenant againſt his ſacred majeſty, his crown and dignity, and made an unchriſtian and prophane vow for the utter extirpation of the Iriſh nation, and total ſuppreſſion of the catholick roman religion, ſubverſion of monarchical government, and introduction of confuſed anarchy within this realm: and not contented with the inhuman and unparalled maſſacres by them committed on poor labourers, women, children, and many thouſands of other innocents of our nation, without diſtinction of age, ſex, or condition, before the concluſion of the ceſſation at Siggins town, on the 15th of September laſt, notwithſtanding continual depredations, robberies, thefts, burnings, and deſtructions of all the corn and inhabitants in many counties and territories within the ſaid realm,

realm, and elſewhere by them acted before the ſaid ceſſation: the ſaid traiterous covenanters receiving their maintenance, ſupport, and orders, from the rebels now in arms againſt his majeſty in England; have augmented, and do rather multiply and increaſe than diminiſh their exhorbitant courſes: and whereas the ſaid rebels have joined in a ſtrict union and confederation to deſtroy the Iriſh nation root and branch (as they term it) and their miniſters and adherents, by their directions, at ſea as well as land, do exerciſe no leſs cruelty: for, as oft as ſhipping do meet any weaker veſſels at ſea, tranſporting men from this kingdom for his majeſty's ſervice in England, if Iriſh-men, though proteſtants, and valiant and uſeful ſervitors againſt the confederate catholicks in this war, the Iriſh are thrown overboard, as doth appear by the late throwing into the ſea, and drowning of an Iriſh company of foot of colonel Willoughby's regiment, all proteſtants and ſervitors as aforeſaid; and many women in their paſſage from Dublin to Briſtol by one of the pretended parliament ſhips, and ſundry other examples of that kind, againſt the law of war and nations. And whereas the ſaid Scotiſh army, all compoſed of rebels and aſſaſſinates, are now in their march in great numbers towards the three provinces of this kingdom, to accompliſh the plots and machinations aforeſaid: and whereas the ſaid rebels in England have provided a great navy, a conſiderable part whereof doth ſurround the ſea coaſt in this kingdom, and are reſolved the next ſummer, if it reſt in their power, which God defend, to land great forces in the

1641.

1641. the province of Munſter and Leinſter: and the ſaid rebels of Scotland have the like deſign of landing of forces in the parts of Ulſter next unto the province of Conaght: and whereas the auxiliary forces of the three provinces, deſigned and raiſed for the neceſſary defence of our religion, king, and nation, are now marched to the province *of Ulſter* under the command of our very good lord the earl of Caſtlehaven, general, appointed by the laſt general aſſembly for the expedition of Ulſter, to repel the ſaid fury and inſolency of the ſaid rebels. Wherefore we hold it of abſolute neceſſity, for the ſafety of the kingdom, and his majeſty's intereſt therein, that all the ſaid other three provinces be forthwith in arms, as well to preſerve themſelves at home from the ſaid intended invaſions, as alſo to be ready to aſſiſt the ſaid army abroad, marched into Ulſter, if need require.

We do therefore by this publick act and proclamation order, command, and require all the lords, knights and gentlemen, freeholders, and all other perſons, from the age of 18 years, to the age of 60, forthwith to put themſelves in arms and poſture of defence; and ſuch as want arms and ammunition, and are able, are hereby required to provide the ſame forthwith, for themſelves, their ſervants and retinue. And for the better effecting this high and important ſervice, we do hereby require, order, and command all and every the governours, deputy-governours, mayors, ſheriffs, and all other head officers of the reſpective counties, cities, and incorporate towns of this kingdom, within our

our quarters, viz. the governours, deputy-governours, in the counties where they are governours, to call to aſſiſtance the high ſheriff, and two or more of the commiſſioners of the array; and in the counties where there is no governour, the high ſheriff, calling to his aſſiſtance three, or more of the commiſſioners, of the array: and in the cities, and corporate towns, the mayor and other head-officers, taking to aſſiſtance the recommended ſheriffs and bailiff thereof, or any one or more of them, forthwith to ſummon all the lords, knights, gentlemen, and freeholders, and others, able and fit to bear arms, between the ages aforeſaid, to appear well armed upon a certain day, and in a certain place, within the ſaid reſpective counties and towns reſpectively, and upon ſuch appearance, to inliſt the names, ſirnames, age, arms, and ammunition of every perſon, who will ſo appear, in a book fairly written, and the ſaid governors, deputy-governours, mayors, high ſheriffs, and other head-officers, taking to their aſſiſtance, as aforeſaid, are hereby required and authorized to impoſe fines, to the double value of the arms and ammunition, upon any perſon or perſons ſo ſummoned, that will make default, who ought to have appeared according to the meaning of this our proclamation, and of other our former proclamations, to this effect: and to impoſe the ſingle value of the arms he ſhould have, upon ſuch as will appear, and not be armed as becometh: and we require the ſaid governours, and other officers aforeſaid, at their perils to make due return unto the general aſſembly now near at hand, or unto 1641.

us

1642 us, in a fair book fairly written, of the number, names, ſirnames, arms, ammunition, defaults, and fines aforeſaid, at the furtheſt, by the ſixth day of the month of Auguſt,

Given at Kilkenny the 6th of July, 1644.

Mount-Garret, Fz. Tho. Dublin, Antrim, Nettervill, Arthur Iveagh, John Cloynfect, Tho. Preſton, Edmond Fitz-morris, Rich. Bealing, Tirlogh O Neile, Patrick Darcy, George Commins.

I cauſed this declaration and proclamation to be printed here in England; and will juſtify it to be their act upon oath.

LAZARUS HAWARD.

My lodging at Mr. Stretcher's in the Tower-Bulwark,

But to come to the particulars of the tryal of the lord Mac-Guire; which was thus:

THE

THE TRYAL OF CONNOR LORD MAC-GUIRE,

FEBRUARY 10, 1644.

In the 20th Year of King CHARLES the First.

BY the indictment the priſoner at the bar is charged, that he, together with ſir Phil. O Neale, Philip O Relly, Roger Moore, eſq; Roger Mac-Guire, eſq; Toole O Conley clerk (being a romiſh prieſt) Hugh Macmahune, and divers other perſons, falſe traytors, unknown, as a falſe-traytor againſt the king's majeſty, his ſupreme leige lord, not having the fear of God in his heart, nor conſidering his duty or allegiance, but being ſeduced by the inſtigation of the devil, intending altogether to withdraw, blot out, and extinguiſh the cordial love and due obedience which faithful ſubjects owe to their ſovereign; did on the 20th of Oct. 17. Car. at Dublin in Ireland, in the parts beyond the ſeas, and at divers other times, both before and after, as well at Dublin as elſewhere, falſely, malicioufly, and traiterouſly conſpire, imagine, and compaſs utterly to deprive and diſinherit the king's majeſty of his royal eſtate and kingdom of Ireland; to bring his majeſty's perſon to death and deſtruction; to

raiſe ſedition, and breed and cauſe miſerable ſlaughter and deſtruction amongſt the king's ſubjects throughout all the whole kingdom: to make an inſurrection and rebellion againſt the king his ſovereign; to levy publick, open, bloody, and fierce war againſt the king in that kingdom; to change and alter, according to their own wills, the government of the kingdom, and the religion there eſtabliſhed, and totally to ſubvert the well ordered ſtate of that common-wealth; to procure and bring in divers ſtrangers and foreigners (not being the king's ſubjects) in a warlike manner to invade that kingdom of Ireland, and to levy war there.

And in execution of theſe their wicked treaſons, and traiterous conſpiracies 20 Octob. 17. Car. the defendant Connor Mac-Guire at Dublin, and divers other times and places, by one Toole O Conley, and divers other meſſengers, by him ſent to Owen O Neale, being then in Flanders, did move and incite Phil. O Neale to levy and raiſe an army in Flanders, and thence to bring that army over into Ireland in an hoſtile manner to invade that kingdom.

And further, to put in execution their traiterous purpoſes, the defendant, together with Hugh Macmahune, Phil. O Neale, Philip O Relly, Roger Moore, Roger Mac-Guire, and Toole O Conley the prieſt, 20 Oct. 17 Car. at Dublin, and divers other times and places in Ireland, before and after, did traiterouſly conſpire to enter into, ſeize, get into their own power, and ſurprize the king's caſtle at Dublin, and all other the king's caſtles and forts in that kingdom, and the magazine therein: and at the ſame time unlawfully

fully and traiterouſly did endeavour and actually attempt to gain into their poſſeſſion and power, and to ſurprize the ſaid caſtle of Dublin, and munition therein.

That the defendant, with the other perſons named, Philip O Neale and others, further to bring to paſs their moſt horrid wicked treaſons and conſpiracies, on the 22d of Octob. 17 Car. at Charlemont and other places, before and after, being armed and arrayed with a great multitude in a warlike manner, with banners diſplayed, ſwords, ſtaves, guns, and other invaſive and defenſive weapons, did falſly and traiterouſly prepare and levy open, fierce, and bloody war againſt the king's majeſty; and the ſame 22d of october ſeized and ſurpriſed the king's fort at Charlemont, and then and there maliciouſly and traiterouſly did kill and murder Toby lord Caulfield, Francis Davies, and others of the king's ſubjects that were proteſtants.

That the defendants, 4 Junii, 18 Car. at the caſtles of Keilagh and Cragan, and other times and places, before and after, levied war, ſeiſed and ſurpriſed thoſe caſtles, and did kill and murder Owen Powell and William Coſens, and many other of the king's proteſtant ſubjects in that kingdom.

Which ſeveral offences are laid againſt his duty and allegiance, againſt the peace of the king's crown and dignity, in manifeſt breach and contempt of the laws and ſtatutes of this kingdom.

The defendant pleaded not guilty: and being demanded how he would be tried;

The copy of the plea.

HE pleaded the ſtatute of magna charta, the 10 Feb. 9. Hen. 3. that none ſhould be condemned but by trial of his peers; and pleaded the ſtatute of 10. Hen. 7. that all the ſtatutes made in England, ſhould from thenceforth be in force in Ireland.

And pleaded, that before the time of the ſeveral treaſons charged in the indictment, Bryan Mac-Guire his father, by letters patents was created baron of Enniſkillen, in Ireland, to him and the heirs male of his body: by force whereof, his father was ſeized of the barony in fee-tail, and 1 Feb. 18 Car. died ſo ſeized; after whoſe death the barony deſcended to the defendant, by virtue whereof he was a baron of Ireland. And that at a parliament held at Dublin, 16 March, 16 Car. which was there continued till the 7th of Auguſt after, and then adjourned to the 9th of Nov. following, and then prorogued to the 24th of February thence next following, and from thence continued till the 24th June, 18 Car.

That he was as one of the noblemen and peers of that parliament; and that the 23d of October, 17 Car. he was arreſted and impriſoned upon pretence of the ſeveral treaſons in the indictment mentioned, and there continued till the 12th of June 18 Car. when he was brought againſt his will to Weſtminſter, and thence committed to the tower of London in ſtrict cuſtody. And averred his plea, and prayed that he might be tried and judged by his peers in Ireland.

Whereunto the king's council demurred in law

law, and the defendant joined in the demurrer.

Upon the plea of the lord Mac-Guire, the beginning of Hillary term, judge Bacon delivered his judgment, that a baron of Ireland was triable by a jury in this kingdom. After which the houſe of commons declared their aſſent unto this opinion in this following vote.

Die Sabbathi, 8 Feb. 1644.

REſolved upon the Queſtion, that the houſe doth approve of the judgment given by Mr. Juſtice Bacon, in over-ruling the plea of the lord Mac-Guire, and of the manner of the trial upon the indictment of high treaſon in the king's bench; and the judge is hereby required to proceed ſpeedily thereupon, according to law and juſtice. The lords concurrence to be deſired herein; maſter recorder is appointed to carry it up.

Upon this vote of the honourable houſe of commons, the houſe of peers afterwards declared their concurrence; and thereupon this enſuing order was paſſed by both houſes of parliament.

Die Lunæ, 10 Feb. 1644.

ORdered by the lords and commons in parliament aſſembled, that the ſaid houſes do approve of the judgment given by maſter juſtice Bacon, in over-ruling the plea of lord Mac-Guire, and of the manner of the trial upon the indictment of high treaſon in the king's bench; and the judge is hereby required to

proceed ſpeedily thereupon, accordingly to law and juſtice.

John Browne, Cler. Parl.
Hen. Elſing, Cler. Parl. D. C.

ON Monday February 10, the lord Mac-Guire (one of the chief actors in that unparallel'd and unheard of rebellion *in Ireland*) was brought from the tower of London, by the guard belonging thereunto, unto the king's bench bar; where he was arraigned by the name of Connor Mac-Guire, alias Cornelius Mac-Guire, eſq; (for his plea of peerage was found invalid, and ſo declared by the court; and that opinion of the judge was ſince aſſented unto, and confirmed by both houſes of parliament.) At his coming to the bar the priſoner ſpake as followeth.

Mac-Guire. I do humbly move, that I may have time allowed me by this court to ſend for my witneſſes.

Judge. You have had a long time; you were indicted about the beginning of the laſt term; you might have prepared witneſſes the laſt term.

Mac. I did not expect a tryal.

Judge. You ſhould expect it at your Peril.

Mac. I was told, when I came into the kingdom, that I might have witneſſes.

Judge. The proof lies on the king's part.

Mac. Though the proof be of the king's part, yet I muſt have time to clear myſelf.

Judge. But if every man ſhould aſk ſo much time as you require, he ſhould never come to his tryal.

Sergeant Whitfield. Mr. juſtice Bacon, we know that my lord Mac-Guire was indicted here the laſt term; he was arraigned at this bar,

bar, he pleaded, not guilty, he could not but expect that he had then been tried, if it had not been for the plea of peerage, that he then put in: upon which he knows there was a deliberate diſpute, and he could not tell but that there would be an end before this time; and if he had had any witneſſes, he might have ſent for them the laſt term; but it is a very unuſual courſe, eſpecially in that he could not but expect that he ſhould be tried before this time; but then the court did conceive this was a legal information. No place is mentioned by the priſoner where the witneſſes ſhould be, nor are they named who they are, nor any particular thing that they ſhould teſtifie; but the proof lies clear on our part: there is no juſtification in treaſon, if we prove that this lord hath committed treaſon, there is no juſtification of that, by any witneſſes he can produce.

Judge. The lord Grey, that was lord deputy of Ireland, committed his treaſons in Ireland, for which he was brought over hither, and tried here; yet the court did not ſtay for his ſending over into Ireland for witneſſes.

Mac. I deſire witneſſes.

Judge. What can your witneſſes ſay for you? can they ſay thus much, that you did not conſpire, as this indictment charges you; that there was no taking of theſe caſtles? can they ſwear in the negative? the proof lies in the affirmative on the king's part.

Mac. They may be miſ-informed.

Judge. Who may be miſ-informed?

Mac. The court. I have been kept cloſe priſoner a long time, and could not provide my witneſſes.

Ser. Whitfield. If we were not tied to that,

to nothing but his own confeſſion, there is enough to condemn him; for that he ſays he was kept cloſe priſoner, he might have deſired that the laſt term.

Sergeant Roll. If we go upon your own examination, the witneſſes concurring with that, what can you have?

Judge. If you had witneſſes here, we would hear them; but to ſtay upon a meer verbal ſuppoſal, for thoſe witneſſes in Ireland, they may be in that rebellion too, and they will never come hither, and ſo the matter muſt never come to a tryal.

Mac. I deſire that it may be the next term.

Judge. We cannot protract time; they are the king's witneſſes, there are (I ſuppoſe) divers here, many witneſſes of the king's come out of Ireland; if you will aſk them any queſtions for your defence, you ſhall. There are many witneſſes of the king's that know how things were in Ireland, the court *ſhall put* them to ſpeak.

Mac. I humbly deſire to have a formal tryal.

Judge. In what reſpect do you mean? I think it is ſo now. Now you are come to be arraigned, and the evidence is to come in againſt you, I conceive it is a formal one.

Then the priſoner was required to hold up his hand at the bar; and it was demanded, if he would challenge any of the jury that were to paſs upon him in the matter of life and death.

Then the jury being called, he looked upon them, and challenged thoſe which did appear, being twenty-three; there being only one abſent. Being demanded whether his challenge was peremptory or no? he anſwered it was, for cauſes beſt known to himſelf.

Jury

Jury challenged.

Sir William Brownelow, Kt. and Baronet.	John Pawlet, gent.
Sir Henry Roe.	Thos. Poltock, gent.
Sir Matthew Howland.	Henry Smith, gent.
Thomas Marſh, eſq;	Francis Child, gent.
Thomas Wilcox, eſq;	Edwd. Wilford, gent.
William Lane, eſq;	Wm. Vincent, gent.
Edward Rogers, eſq;	John Barnes.
Edward Claxton, eſq;	John Arnold.
Richard Zachary, eſq;	John Huckſley, eſq;
Humphrey Weſtwood, eſq;	Sir Ja. Harrington, Kt.
John Jackſon, eſq;	Thomas Moore, eſq;
	Henry Arundell, gent.

Ser. Whitfield. The priſoner hath challenged all the jury that does appear; twenty-three appear, and he hath challenged them, and his challenge is for cauſes beſt known to himſelf, which is a peremptory challenge. Truly, it is that which the law doth allow, and we do not oppoſe it; but we do deſire that we may have another writ returnable to-morrow.

Judge. You muſt have a Venire facias.

Ser. Whitfield. This cauſe is a cauſe of very great weight, there are many witneſſes that have long attended in court, we are informed that ſome of them are gone away into Ireland; that there is the ſheriff of Dublin, and ſome others that are now preſent in court, that cannot be here, if we ſhould defer this trial, as the priſoner doth deſire: and we do deſire that it may be referred till to-morrow, we ſhall be ready to give in evidence againſt him.

Judge. He hath ſpent three days this term already,

already, this is the fourth: we would have proceeded now but for his peremptory challenge; but if we ſtay till to-morrow, he muſt be content to be tried by a meaner jury.

Mr. *Prynne.* This being a publick caſe, we deſire a ſpeedy progreſs in it: our witneſſes have been long detained here, and cannot attend till the next term, ſome of them being to depart within two days.

Judge. A publick caſe muſt have publick juſtice on both ſides: for your witneſſes, you ſhall ſtay your witneſſes here. We muſt do that which the law doth allow.

Ser. Whitfield. The law does allow of his peremptory challenge; we deſire to have a new writ, and that it may be returnable to-morrow. For the doing of it, we ſhall leave it to thoſe that are to proſecute it, and to the ſheriff. We ſee that this cauſe cannot be tried this day, we deſire we may have a ſpeedy end of it; there have been many days ſpent in it, and we that are of council for the king do deſire, that we may confer together, departing the court for ſome time; and when we have conferred together we will return to the court again, and then we will propound to you what courſe we do deſire for the ſpeedy trial of this cauſe.

To this motion the judge aſſented, and Ser. Whitfield and the reſt of the counſel went to conſult together about it: and after a ſhort ſtay, upon their return, Ser. Whitfield ſpake thus.

Ser. Whitfield. We that are counſel for the king, have conſulted together with the clerk of the crown, and the ſecretary; we have withdrawn ourſelves, and peruſed ſeveral preſidents, and we do find by ſeveral preſi-

dents,

dents, that whereas a peremptory challenge ſhall be, it is in the power of the court to order the courſe of trial, and the courſe is this, there goes a writ to the ſheriff, that he ſhall deſtrain all them that make default, and that he ſhall amove thoſe that are challenged by the priſoner; and further, that he ſhall return ſo many more for the trial. This we conceive to be the conſtant courſe of this court; and in this caſe my lord Mac-Guire having challenged 23 of the 24 we are to deſtrain the other that made default, and to amove the 23, that he hath challenged of them, and have a Tales returnable to-morrow for a new jury.

Ser. Roll. That was in Standiſh's caſe, and Friar's caſe.

Judge. I know the court may grant a tales, but the matter is, whether it can be done ſo ſoon as to-morrow or no, if the ſheriff can do it to-morrow.

Ser. Whitfield. We do find this in the preſident of friar, that in 3 Hen. 7. the jury did appear on Friday, and all thoſe that did appear were challenged, and there was a Diſtringas returned the next day, which was Saturday. It may be immediate.

Judge. Then make your Diſtringas againſt to-morrow morning, make out a Quadraginta tales againſt to-morrow.

Mac. I deſire I may not be ſo ſeverely dealt with.

Judge. It hath been ſo oftentimes, and the court doth proceed in theſe caſes de die in diem, from day to day; and there is no difficulty in the granting of it, but whether the ſheriff can return it ſo ſoon.

If the king's council will have it to-morrow, the

the other buſineſſes of the court muſt be put off.

Hereupon the priſoner was diſcharged, and a rule granted to the lieutenant of the tower to bring him again the next day.

ON Tueſday Febr. 11, the lord Mac-Guire was again brought to the king's-bench bar, where he made a motion that his plea of peerage might be referred to another court. To which it was anſwered.

Ser. Whitfield. We know not for what end this motion is, and we know this, that this is no time for my lord to make this requeſt; for you know how far we have proceeded: he hath been arraigned, and indicted of high treaſon, and one jury he challenged, the other is returned, ſo as now he is in the way of his tryal; we are now to proceed with ſuch evidence as we have, to proſecute inſtantly. We do not deſire this to be produced again, and if it be, we know not how it could be material one way or other.

After this the lord Mac-Guire further urged the court to the former purpoſe: to which it was anſwered, that he was then brought to his tryal as a priſoner upon the indictment, and that both the lords and commons had approved of the opinion of the court therein.

Mac. Pleaſe you ſir, one word more: I deſire to appeal to the lords.

Ser. Whitfield. When one is come here, to appeal to the lords, that was never known: now you have put yourſelf upon the country.

Mac. Under favour, I conceive I may, to an higher court.

Judge. It cannot be granted, the lords approved

proved it: if you ſhould have gone to an higher court before, you might have taken your courſe; now the jury is returned, and you are appointed to be tried here.

After this the lord Mac-Guire deſired further to appeal, to which the anſwer was:

Ser. Whit. Here lies no ſuch appeal here, you are out of the eccleſiaſtical court, there is no ſuch plea here; you are now upon the middle of your tryal, we deſire you may go on, you have challenged 23 of the jury already.

Judge. We have no ſuch courſe in the common law; if a man will appeal from me, I cannot let him appeal to any man.

Upon this, theſe of the jury following were named, which he challenged: viz.

George Hanger, eſq;	Stephen Bourman gent.
Sir Michael Wharton,	George Weaver-Baſſet,
James Hawley, eſq;	J. Nicolls the younger,
George Smith, eſq;	Henry Walker, gent.
Edmund Beſley, eſq;	Randolph Nicoll,
William Ewrſby, eſq;	Andrew Brent.

Upon his challenging of theſe, which being added to the reſt, make 35 in all, the other jury being about to be called, the lord Mac-Guire moved:

Mac. Under favour, I conceive, that my lands being ſequeſtred, thoſe men that have bought my lands, ſhould not paſs upon my trial; and therefore I deſire they may make anſwer to it upon oath, whether any of them have adventured or no.

Ser. Whitfield. To deſire, that a whole jury may be demanded ſuch a queſtion upon their oath, is that, that hath not been known. If my lord

lord Mac-Guire have cauſe now againſt any, he hath run out the liberty which the law gave him, to challenge 35 peremptorily. Now if he ſhould challenge any more, he muſt make a particular challenge to every particular man that comes to be ſworn, and he muſt have ſuch a challenge notwithſtanding as is warrantable by law; but this general challenge is not warrantable by law, and if it were particular, it were not warrantable neither.

Ser. Roll. If you will challenge any more, the law does not debar you to ſhew cauſe.

Mac. I conceive, that any that have given money in Ireland for my deſtruction, ought not to paſs againſt me.

Ser. Whit. This is for the king, this is for no particular perſon whatſoever.

Mac. I beſeech you hear me in it.

Judge. You know this, that the king cannot grant it without the conſent of both houſes, and in this caſe it may be put to the jury to try upon their oath. Thus far I ſhall agree, that if any of this jury be to have any particular benefit in Ireland, of land or goods by his attainder, it is good; but if his lands come to the king, and that the king is no way bound to give it to any of them, it is no challenge: look the ſtatute.

M. Prynne. Under favour, Mr. juſtice Bacon, it doth not appear to the court that the priſoner hath any lands or goods in Ireland; and therefore no ſuch queſtion is to be demanded of the jury.

Judge. You may make needleſs diſputes upon it.

Then the jury being accordingly required to anſwer upon oath, whether they had adventured,

ventured, or had any ſhare in Ireland for the rebels land; Mac-Guire deſired the queſtion might be, whether they themſelves, their children, or brothers? but that would not be agreed unto, as being unreaſonable. Then the jury following was ſworn:

J. Carpenter,	William Barnes,
John Cooper,	Robert Stiles,
A. Cordall,	George Norfolk,
Rich. Atkinſon,	Edw. Hudſon,
Joſias Hendall,	John Wait,
William Greenwood,	Eſah Riſby.

The oath which they took, was this:

You ſhall well and truly try, and true deliverance make, between our ſovereign lord the king, and Connor Mac-Guire, eſq; now priſoner at the bar, and a true verdict give according to your evidence.

The jury being ſworn, Mac-Guire moved that he might have a jury of 24; to which it was anſwered;

Judge. There have been 40 named.

Mac. Under favour, I conceive, I ought to be tried by 24; there were ſo many returned at firſt.

Judge. They returned 24; that is, becauſe if any of them did fail, and ſome may be challenged, then there might be 12 left.

Mac. Under favour, I conceive, there ſhould be 24 now left for my tryal.

Judge. You are deceived in that. You challenged 23, and ſo there were 40 more added; now you have challenged 12 of this 40, and out of them there remains ſo many as will make up a jury of 12.

Then

Then the court proceeded to his tryal, and the indictment againſt him was read. After which, the court proceeded, ſaying:

Gentlemen of the jury, upon this indictment he hath been arraigned, and to his arraignment he hath pleaded, not guilty, and thereupon put himſelf upon his country; and your charge is, to enquire whether he be guilty of the indictments, or any of them: if you find him not guilty, you are to declare it; if guilty, then you are to give in evidence againſt him.

M. N. Mr. judge Bacon. You obſerve by the record that hath been read to you, that the priſoner at the bar ſtands indicted of ſeveral treaſons, wherein it is found, that Connor Mac-Guire, &c. as before in the indictment. Now, gentlemen, you of the jury, if it ſhall be proved to you, that the priſoner of the bar is guilty of all, or any of theſe treaſons, then you are to give your evidence.

Then theſe witneſſes following were ſworn to give in evidence againſt the priſoner:

The lord Blaney,	Sir Francis Hamilton,
Lady Caulfield,	Sir Edward Borlacey,
Sir Arthur Loftus,	Sir William Cole,
Sir John Temple,	Sir Charles Coot,
Sir William Stewart,	Mrs. Wordrofe,
John Carmicks,	Walter Gubſon,
M. Bunbury,	Capt. Mich. Balfoure,
Captain Berisford.	

Sir *William Cole*'s Teſtimony.

Ser. Whitfield. You know (ſir William Cole) a great many of their names, which you have heard that were conſpirators with this lord; what religion were they of?

Sir

Sir *W. Cole.* They were all papiſts.

Ser. Whitfield. Who were they?

Sir *W. Cole.* The lord Mac-Guire, ſir Phil. O Neale, Roger Moore, &c.

Ser. Whitfield. Sir Francis Hamilton, upon what occaſion was it, that the conſpirators got an order to view the magazine?

Sir *F. Hamilton.* I was a member of the houſe of commons there, and I remember very well, there came a meſſage from the houſe of lords to the houſe of commons, to let them know, that there was ſome plot for the blowing up of the parliament houſe in Ireland, and they ſent a meſſage, to deſire that they might ſearch under the parliament houſe: and there was a ſearch made, and (as I remember) the lord Mac-Guire was one of the committee from the houſe of lords that made ſearch there; but what they found, I do not know. Afterwards they deſired that they might ſearch the caſtle of Dublin, and other magazines.

Counſel. What was the cauſe?

Sir *F. Hamilton.* There was a coachman of my lord of Strafford's that had uttered ſome big words, (as was given out) that the parliament houſe ſhould be blown up, but what was the ground, I am perſwaded in my conſcience, it was to know where the ſtore and ammunition lay, that they might know where to ſurprize it.

Sir William Steward's teſtimony.

I was one of the committee that was ſent by the parliament, and by order from the houſe of lords, to ſearch the parliament houſe, and the lord Mac-Guire was one of the lords: they made a very ſtrict ſearch, and then they

enquired for the king's magazine, and I believe my lord Mac-Guire now here was one of the committee that went to ſearch for the houſe of lords, and he did ſearch very narrowly, and they were deſirous to know where the ſtore was.

The lord Blaney's teſtimony.

Counſel. Whether this ſearch was moved by the lord Finghall and what was the end of it?

L. *Blaney.* So near as I can, I will give you the buſineſs, it is ſo long ago. This I remember, that there was one of the lords houſe, whether it was my lord Finghall, or my lord Macary, moved it, I cannot certainly depoſe, but I am ſure it was one of them. The occaſion was, one of the earl of Strafford's coachmen ſaid, he hoped to ſee ſome of the lords blown up for it; it was about a fortnight after the earl of Strafford was beheaded here. Thereupon they got an order for it, and ſo they went down, and they did not find the powder, but they made as narrow a ſearch as ever any was. I aſked what the meaning was of this, for we had ſtrange cenſures of it our ſelves. Says of them, the lord Clamorris, they are afraid of a powder-plot of the proteſtants. I anſwered, that I had heard of a powder-plot of the papiſts, but never of the proteſtants in my life. But if you aſk the reaſon of it, it was to aſſure themſelves of their ſtrength, for we found by woful experience afterwards, it was their end. My lord Borlace ſaid, let them not be afraid, for upon my honour there is no powder below. It is a great houſe, the houſe of commons ſit on one ſide, and the lords on the other, and the block-houſe in the middle.

Counſel.

Counſel. What religion is my lord Finghall, and my lord Clamorris of?

L. *Blaney.* The lord Finghall is a papiſt, and Clamorris a peſtiferous papiſt!

Ser. Whitfield. All papiſts! we ſhall now read the examination of the manner of his taking, and then his own examination.

The firſt we ſhall read, is this of mr. Woodcock, that was ſheriff of Dublin; he was in town, but he could not ſtay, but he was examined before this court.

The information of John Woodcock the 27th of October, 1644. taken upon oath before juſtice Bacon.

THE ſaid examinate depoſeth and ſaith, that he, being one of the ſheriffs of the ſaid city of Dublin, in the year 1641, having notice given him in the night; upon the 22d of October in the ſame year, of ſome great deſign intended, did by vertue of his office walk up and down the city that night; and coming to the houſe of one Nevill, a chirurgeon in Caſtle-Street, he underſtood by the ſaid Nevill, that the lord Mac-Guire with ſome 10 or 12 others were there: this examinate told him, it was fit for his gueſts to be in bed at that time of night; but the ſaid Nevill did bring this examinate word, that the lord Mac-Guire and his company were then going to bed. The ſaid examinate departed, ſetting a watch near his houſe; by which watch he was informed, that the ſaid lord Mac-Guire and the reſt were gone from the houſe, and were at the houſe of one Kerne, a taylor: whereupon he ſearched the ſaid houſe, and there found ſome hatchets with

the helves newly cut off close to the hatchets, five petronels, five or six swords, three or four small pistols, five or six skeins, with other arms of the lord Mac-Guire's in an house of office in the said house; in another place divers pole-axes, and also behind a hen-roost some great weapons with sharp pikes of iron in one end of them, the said Kerne affirming that he knew nothing of any of the particulars before mentioned, nor how they came in his house. The said examinate shewed all the said instruments unto the said lords justices and council of Ireland; and thereupon the said lords justices and council, commanded search to be made for the said lord Mac-Guire. Upon which the said examinate, searching narrowly for him, at last found him in a cock-loft, with a cloak wrapt about him, standing by a bed, the door lockt upon him, there being no key to be found; as also the master of the house flying away, and making an escape to the enemy.

After this, the lord Mac-Guire's own examination was read, taken the 26th of March, 1642. (for as Sir John Temple declared to the court, the lord Mac-Guire was then brought to the council-board, and they could get nothing out of him) whereupon he was sent back to prison for that time.

The

The examination of Connor lord Mac-Guire, baron of Enniſkillen, taken before us, Charles lord Lambert, and Sir Robert Meredith, knight, chancellor of his majeſty's court of exchequer, the 26th day of march, 1642, by direction of the right honourable the lords juſtices and council.

WHO being examined, ſaith, that about the time when mr. John Bellew came out of England with the commiſſion for the continuance of the preſent parliament, Roger Moore in the ſaid Moore's chamber in the houſe of one Peter de Coſtres of this city, acquainted him, this examinate, that if the Iriſh would riſe, they might make their own conditions, for the regaining of their own lands, and freedom of their religion. At which time the ſaid Moore alſo acquainted him this examinate, that he had ſpoken with ſundry of Leinſter, who would be ready for that purpoſe, and withal told him, this examinate, that he was aſſured a good part of Conaught would do the like; and thereupon moved this examinate to join likewiſe with them, with all he could make: unto which motion he, this examinate, yielded. And the next day following there was a meeting in his, the ſaid Moore's chamber aforeſaid, where were col. Mac-Bryan, Macmahone, Tirlogh O Neale, Philip Mac-Hugh O Rely, this examinate and Roger Moore; where diſcourſe was had on that buſineſs, yet nothing concluded on, ſave that Roger Moore and the reſt ſhould go and prepare their parties. And this examinate further ſaith, that about May laſt, he, this examinate, Roger Moore, Philip O

Rely, and Roger Mac-Guire, this examinate's brother, diſpatched a prieſt, one Toole O Conley, who lived in Leinſter, unto Owen O Neale into Flanders, to acquaint him with the buſineſs concerning the general rebellion then in preparation; which ſaid prieſt returned about a month before the time appointed for execution thereof. And the anſwer which the ſaid prieſt brought from the ſaid Owen O Neale was, that he would (fifteen days after the people were up) be with him, with his beſt aſſiſtance and arms. And it being demanded why the ſaid Owen ſhould bring arms, conſidering that the caſtle of Dublin was to be taken, with the arms therein; this examinate anſwered, that they ſo provided for arms, that they might not want any, in caſe they could not take the ſaid caſtle, whereof they doubted. And this examinate acknowledgeth, that the caſtle of Dublin was to have been ſurpriſed by himſelf, capt. Brian O Neale, capt. Con O Neale, capt. Macmahone, one Owen O Rely, Roger Moore, Hugh Macmahone, col. Plunket, and capt. Fox; and likewiſe further acknowledgeth, that Hugh mac-Phelim, capt. Con O Neale, and Bryan O Neale, brought from Owen O Neale, out of Flanders, the very ſame meſſage which the ſaid prieſt brought. And this examinate further ſaith, that he was told by Roger Moore, that a great man was in the plot, but he might not name him for the preſent: and at another time, and during the ſitting of the parliament the laſt ſummer, he, this examinate, was informed by one John Barnwell, a franciſcan friar, then reſident in this city, that thoſe of the Pale were alſo privy unto the plot, (meaning the preſent rebellion.)

bellion.) And laſtly ſaith, that of thoſe perſons who came to attend him, this examinate, for the ſurpriſe of the ſaid caſtle of Dublin, only Cohonogh Mac-Guire was privy unto the buſineſs in hand; and that the laſt meeting (when the day appointed for execution thereof was reſolved on) was at Logh-Roſſe, where were preſent only Ever Macmahone, vicar-general of the dioceſe of Clogher, Thomas Mac-Kearnan, a friar of Dundalk, ſir Phelim O Neale, Roger Moore, and Bryan O Neale.

Concordat cum Originali. Charles Lambert,
Ex. per Parl. Harris. Robert Meredith.

This being read, and opened unto the jury, being the lord Mac-Guire's free and voluntary confeſſion, which he afterwards acknowledged ſince his coming to the tower, viz.

Memorandum, that this within written being ſhewed and read unto the within named lord Mac-Guire, and himſelf having peruſed the ſame, his lordſhip did acknowledge the ſame to be true in all things, ſaving that he doth not now acknowledge that Bernard told him, that thoſe of the Pale were privy to the plot; neither doth acknowledge that Cohonogh Mac-Guire was privy to the plot before his coming to Dublin.

This examination and acknowledgment was made and taken the 22d day of June 1642. *Anno Regni Caroli Regis decimo Octavo* before us.

John Bramſtone,
Thomas Mallet.

In the preſence of
John Conyers,
William Ayloffe,
Nathaniel Finch.

June 24, 1642.

The examination of Connor lord Mac-Guire, baron of Enniſkillen, taken before ſir John Bramſtone, knight, lord chief juſtice of the king's-bench.

WHO ſaith, that he is of the age of twenty-ſix years and upwards, and that he was born in the county of Fermanagh in Ireland; and ſaith, that his examination taken at Dublin the 26th day of March 1642, before Charles lord Lambert, and ſir Robert Meredith, with his acknowledgment thereof the 22d of June, before judge Bramſtone, and juſtice Mallet, is true in ſuch manner as in the ſaid examination and acknowledgment is expreſſed.

Connor Mac-Guire.

[illegible] ination of Connor Mac-Guire, lord baron of Enniſkillen in Ireland, taken before Iſaac Pennington, eſq; lieutenant of the tower of London, and Lawrence Whitaker, eſq; two of his majeſty's juſtices of the peace, for the county of Middleſex, the firſt day of October 1644.

HE denieth the receiving of any letters or meſſages out of England before the rebellion, nor did he ever hear of any. He ſaith, he was but a mean inſtrument in the deſign in Ireland; he confeſſeth, he intended to ſeize upon the caſtle of Dublin, and the magazine there, and keep it till they had redreſs of ſome grievances, which they purpoſed to propound to the parliament there; one whereof was, to have a toleration of the Roman catholick religion.

religion. He confeſſeth, that he came accidentally to Philip O Roly's houſe, as he came up to Dublin; and, as he remembereth, Macmahone was then there, and that his intention of coming up to Dublin, was to put the aforeſaid deſign in execution, and that then and there, they had ſpeech about that deſign; but he remembereth not the particulars: which deſign was to be put in execution the 23d day of October in that year; and that he was taken there that very day, being Saturday upon ſearch made for him, carried before the lords juſtices, examined, committed, and ſent over into England.

He ſaith further, that he made his eſcape out of the tower of London, upon Sunday the 18th of Auguſt laſt, about four of the clock in the morning.

Iſaac Pennington.
Lawrence Whitaker,

John Carmick's teſtimony.

THAT upon the 21ſt of October, 1641, Fergus O Howen, one of the followers of Brian Mac-Guire, eſq; came to his chamber in the caſtle of Enniſkillen, and after he had endeavoured to bind him to keep ſecret a matter of great concernment, which Fergus ſaid he had to diſcloſe, and particularly to conceal it from ſir William Cole, and all other Engliſhmen; this examinate told him, he would be ſecret ſo far as it went with his allegiance and conſcience. He diſcovered unto the ſaid examinate, that the lord Mac-Guire and Hugh Oge Macmahone, accompanied with ſeveral Iriſhmen of the counties of Fermanagh and Monaghan, did take their journies out of the ſaid counties upon the 19th and 20th days of October, 2641,

1641, to the city of Dublin, with reſolution and intent to murder and kill his highneſs's lords juſtices and council of the kingdom of Ireland, and the reſt of the proteſtants there; and alſo to poſſeſs themſelves of the city of Dublin, and to put all the proteſtants there likewiſe to the ſword: and that to that effect there were other great men, and others of the papiſts of that kingdom to repair unto, and meet them in Dublin on Saturday, 23 October 1641, or thereabouts; and that all the caſtles, forts, ſea-ports and holds that were in the poſſeſſion of the proteſtants in the ſeveral counties and provinces in the kingdom of Ireland, were then alſo deſigned and reſolved to be ſurpriſed and taken by the Iriſh papiſts; and the proteſtants in every of thoſe caſtles, forts, ſea-ports and holds, to be then alſo put all to the ſword by the Iriſh papiſts in Ireland in their own ſeveral parts and limits, by men thereunto chiefly and particularly appointed by the contrivers thereof: and that eſpecially the town and caſtle of Enniſkillen, with the reſt, would be taken, and all the proteſtants in it put to the ſword; and therefore adviſed the examinate to get himſelf and goods out of the town: whereat the examinate ſmiling, Fergus bid him not to ſlight it, for he could aſſure thoſe things would come to paſs in ſeven days, or elſe he would be bound to loſe his head. Whereupon the ſaid Fergus O Howen departed, and the examinate acquainting ſir William Cole with it, there came one Flartagh Mac-Hugh, a gentleman and freeholder of that county, and affirmed to the ſame effect to ſir William Cole, that the plot for ſurpriſing of the city and caſtle of Dublin, the caſtle of Enniſkillen, and all the caſtles and ſtrengths

in

in Ireland, was to be put in full execution by the papiſts October 22 and 23, 1641, throughout the ſaid kingdom; and that Brian Mac-Conaght Mac-Guire, eſq; did ſend him the ſaid Flartagh Mac-Hugh to give notice and warning thereof to the ſaid ſir William Cole, whom he earneſtly deſired to be upon his guard upon Friday the 22d and Saturday the 23d of October; for the lord Mac-Guire was gone with Macmahone and others that week with purpoſe to poſſeſs themſelves of the caſtle and city of Dublin, and the lord Mac-Guire had written his letters to Con O Bourke, Owen O Roreicke, Mortagh Oge O Fantagon, and others, to go on with that plot in thoſe parts; and had appointed his brother Rori Mac-Guire (in his abſence) to command the Iriſh papiſts in the county of Fermanagh, for the ſurpriſing of the caſtles and houſes of the proteſtants. Of all which ſir William advertiſed the lords juſtices and council of Ireland the ſame day. And this examinate ſaith, that captain Mac-Hugh, ſeven or eight days before the rebellion broke forth, declared, that the lord Mac-Guire poſted letters, and rode up and down to divers gentlemen, and others of that county, to be very active in the buſineſs. That it was averred upon the oaths of Flartagh Mac-Hugh, John Oge Mac-Hugh, and Terlagh Oge Mac-Hugh, before the ſaid ſir William Cole, that one hundred and fifty men were appointed to ſurpriſe the caſtle of Enniſkillen, under the leading of Don Mac-Guire, and Rori Mac-Guire, who were to murder the ſaid ſir William Cole, and his wife, children, and ſervants, and throw them over the wall into the river, and then to do the like unto the proteſtants in the town and

and corporation of Enniſkillen: for which ſervice they were not only to have the ſpoil and riches of the ſaid caſtle and town, but to have alſo the barony of Clanawley granted and confirmed in fee to them and their heirs, from the ſaid lord Mac-Guire and his heirs. The examinate then alſo produced a letter written in Iriſh, from the lord Mac-Guire, to his couſin Brian Mac-Guire, wherein taking notice, that he was abundantly inclined to the Engliſh, which did very much trouble him; and therefore deſired him to baniſh ſuch thoughts out of his mind, and not to purſue thoſe reſolutions which in the end might be his own deſtruction, as he thought it would be to all thoſe that did not appear.

Preſently after, upon the 29th of October, one captain Rori Mac-Guire took upon him the managing of all buſineſſes in his abſence; he fortifies firſt the caſtle Haſen, the houſe wherein he dwelt himſelf, he took in the caſtle of one Edward Aldrith, eſq; he put out all the Engliſh there; he went to the town, burnt that, but kill'd none of the men; went thence to another place, and hanged one Eleazar M. one that was clerk of the peace of the county; and from thence he went to Newtown, four miles off from it, took in the town, ſtript and diſarmed all the proteſtants that were in the church, the next day after marched away, and killed and deſtroyed moſt of the Engliſh in thoſe parts; murdered Arthur Champion, eſq; and many more. Twenty-two caſtles were ſeized upon, and the church of Monah, with eighteen proteſtants burnt in it: ſeven hundred and ſixty-four proteſtants were deſtroyed in that county; and I did hear there

was

was about 152000, that they had deſtroyed in that province of Ulſter, in the firſt four months of the rebellion.

JOHN CARMICK.

Then ſir William Cole (being preſent in court) gave in his evidence, much to the ſame effect as in Carmick's teſtimony.

Ser. Whitfield. We deſire to ſhorten, we have a great many witneſſes; we ſhall go upon theſe particulars. Firſt, captain O Neale's landing in Ireland, and what he brought with him. Secondly, Keilagh and Cragan. Laſtly, how long beſieged, and how many murdered.

Then ſir William Steward gave in teſtimony to this effect:

That Con Owen O Neale landed in July the ſame year the rebellion began, brought many commanders, much arms and ammunition; many of his commanders, nine of the chief of them, were taken priſoners at one battle.

Ser. Whitfield. It is his own confeſſion, that he ſent a prieſt over to fetch arms to come into Ireland.

[Then the lady Caulfield was deſired to declare her knowledge concerning the taking of Charlemont caſtle.

Lady Caulfield. The 23d of October, 1641, ſir Phelim O Neale and others came into the caſtle, they ſeized upon all, murdered his ſervants; and thoſe that were alive, they bound them, and put them in priſon; and at that time, ſir Phelim O Neale himſelf, and other of his companions, told her, that Dublin caſtle and city, and moſt other forts of Ireland

land were ſurpriſed by their confederates the papiſts; and that he was ſorry for his couſin the lord Mac-Guire, and that he was afraid he was taken.

Ser. Whitfield. What was done with my lord Caulfield?

Lady Caulfield. He was murdered; he beged for his life, and they durſt not but do it.

Ser. Whitfield. When ſir Phelim O Neale had taken my lord Caulfield, then they got this lady to write to the lords juſtices, that my lord Mac-Guire might be exchanged for her ſon, but that would not be; and thereupon they murdered my lord Caulfield, Francis Davies, and others.

Mrs. Mary Wordrofe's teſtimony.

That he came on Friday night about 10 or 11 o'clock, to break into the caſtle; I hearing the noiſe, aſked what was the matter? I went to call up ſome of our gentlemen; when I came in again, they had taken ſome of our gentlemen, and bound them.

She alſo teſtified the murdering of the lord Caulfield, Francis Davies, and others; and the former words concerning the lord Mac-Guire.

Ser. Whitfield. Theſe two witneſſes prove that of Charlemont, how far the rebels owned the lord Mac-Guire, as to endeavour his exchange. We ſhall now come to the other caſtles, how long they beſieged them, and who was murdered.

Walter Gubſon's teſtimony.

They beſieged it a quarter of a year before they took it; divers of the chief conſpirators,

tors, and Powell, and Coſens, took the caſtle by force in an hoſtile manner.

Sir Francis Hamilton's teſtimony.

Philip O Rely came to the caſtle, to Keilagh and Cragan caſtles, and they lay before it a quarter of a year, with 2000 or 3000 men, ſometimes 1500, but never leſs.

Sir Charles Coot's teſtimony concerning the generality of the rebellion.

Sir Phelim O Neale and Roger Moore were the actors in the maſſacres, and by publick directions of ſome in place, and of the titulary biſhops, for the ſending of an exact account of what perſons were murdered throughout all Ulſter, a fourth part of the kingdom of Ireland, to the pariſh prieſts in every pariſh; and they ſent in a particular account of it, and the account was, 104700 in one province, in the firſt three months of the rebellion.

Ser. Whitfield. What ſay you concerning the general council, and the pope's bull.

Sir *Charles Coot.* The ſupreme council they took up a new form of government upon them of their own; and by this authority it was granted to the lady Mac-Guire, that ſhe ſhould have the rent of ſuch lands in recompence of the loſs that he was at in their cauſes. They have made ſeveral judges of their own courts: they print, they coin, they do all in their own names.

THE

THE COPY of the POPE's BULL.

Ad futuram Rei Memoriam.

Urbanus Octavus, &c.

HAVING taken into our ſerious conſideration the great zeal of the Iriſh towards the propagating of the catholick faith, and the piety of the catholick warriors in the ſeveral armies of that kingdom, (which was for that ſingular fervency in the true worſhip of God, and notable care had formerly in the like caſe, by the inhabitants thereof, for the maintenance and preſervation of the ſame orthodox faith, called of old "the land of ſaints;") and having got certain notice how, in imitation of their Godly and worthy anceſtors, they endeavour by force of arms to deliver their thralled nation from the oppreſſions, and grievous injuries of the hereticks, wherewith this long time it hath been afflicted, and heavily burthened, and gallantly do in them what lieth to extirpate, and totally root out thoſe workers of iniquity, who in the kingdom of Ireland had infected, and are always ſtriving to infect the maſs of catholick purity, with the peſtiferous leaven of their heretical contagion: we therefore being willing to cheriſh them with the gifts of thoſe ſpiritual graces, whereof by God we are ordained the only diſpoſer on earth, by the mercy of the ſame almighty God, truſting in the authority of the bleſſed apoſtles Peter and Paul; and by vertue

vertue of that power of binding and loosing of souls, which God was pleased (without our deserving) to confer upon us; to all and every one of the faithful christians in the foresaid kingdom of Ireland now, and for the time militating against the hereticks, and other enemies of the catholick faith, they being truly and sincerely penitent, after confession, and the spiritual refreshing of themselves with the sacred communion of the body and blood of Christ, do grant a full and plenary indulgence, and absolute remission for all their sins, and such as in the holy time of jubilee, is usual to be granted to those that devoutly visit a certain number of priviledged churches, within and without the walls of our city of Rome: by the tenour of which present letters, for once only and no more, we freely bestow the favour of this absolution, upon all and every one of them; and withal, desiring heartily all the faithful in Christ, now in arms as aforesaid, to be partakers of this most precious treasure.

To all and every one of these foresaid faithful christians, we grant license, and give power to choose unto themselves, for this effect, any fit confessor, whether a secular priest, or a regular of some order; as likewise any other selected person approved of by the ordinary of the place: who, after a diligent hearing of their confessions, shall have power to liberate and absolve them from excommunication, suspension, and all other ecclesiastical sentences and censures, by whomsoever, or for what cause soever pronounced, or inflicted upon them; as also from all sins, trespasses, transgressions, crimes and delinquencies, how heinous and atrocious soever

they be, not omitting thoſe very enormities in the moſt peculiar caſes which by any whatſoever former conſtitutions of ours, or of our predeceſſor popes (than which we will have theſe to be no leſs valued in every point) were deſigned to be reſerved to the ordinary, or to the apoſtolick ſee, from all which the confeſſor ſhall hereby have power granted him to abſolve the foreſaid catholicks at the bar of conſcience, and in that ſenſe only. And furthermore, we give them power to exchange what vow or vows ſoever they were formerly aſtricted to, (thoſe of religion and chaſtity excepted) into any other pious and good work or works, impoſed or to be impoſed on them, and every one of them to perform in all the aforeſaid caſes by a wholſome penance, according to the mind and will of the confeſſor.

Therefore, by the tenour of theſe preſent letters, and by the vertue of that holy ſtrict obedience, wherein all chriſtians are bound unto us, we charge and command all and every one of the reverend brethren, archbiſhops, biſhops, and other eccleſiaſtical prelates, and whatſoever ordinaries of places now reſiding in Ireland, together with all vicars, ſubſtitutes and officials under them; or theſe failing, we command all ſuch to whom in thoſe places the care of ſouls is incumbent; that as ſoon as they ſhall have received the copies of theſe our letters, they ſhall forthwith without any ſtop or delay, publiſh them, and cauſe them to be publiſhed throughout all their churches, dioceſſes, provinces, countries, cities, towns, lands, villages, and places whatſoever.

Nevertheleſs,

Nevertheleſs, we do not intend by theſe preſent letters, where any publick or ſecret irregularity is made known, or any defection, apoſtacy, incapacity or inability in any manner of way contracted, to diſpenſe therewith, or grant to any other, any power or faculty of diſpenſation, rehabiliation, or reſtoring the delinquent to his former condition, though but at the bar of conſcience: neither can nor ſhould theſe our preſent letters avail or be ſteadable to thoſe, who by us and the apoſtolick ſee, or by any prelate or eccleſiaſtick judge, have been excommunicated, ſuſpended, interdicted, or declared, and publickly denounced to have juſtly incurred the ſentences and cenſures of the church, till firſt they have ſatisfied and agreed with the parties therein concerned, notwithſtanding all other conſtitutions and apoſtolical ordinations; whereby, nevertheleſs, the faculty of abſolution in theſe, as well as other expreſſed caſes is ſo reſerved to his holineſs, the pope, for the time being, that no kind of jubilee nor power of granting ſuch indulgences can in any ſort avail, unleſs expreſs mention be made of the fault or faults in particular, and the whole tenour of them fully deduced by an individual relation from word to word, and not by general clauſes importing the ſame thing. This, or ſome other requiſite form of the like nature being carefully obſerved, we in that caſe eſpecially, expreſly, and namely, by the effect of theſe preſents, do totally aboliſh and remit them all and every one of them their offences, notwithſtanding any thing to the contrary.

Now that theſe principal letters of ours, which cannot be conveniently brought to

every place, may the ſooner come to the notice of all, our will and pleaſure is, that any whatſoever copies or tranſumpts, whether written or printed, that are ſubſcribed by the hand of a publick notary, and which have the ſeal of ſome eminent perſon in eccleſiaſtical dignity affixed thereunto, be of the ſame force, power, and authority, and have the like credit in every reſpect given unto them, as would be to theſe our principal letters, if they were ſhewed and exhibited.

Dated at Rome in the vatican, or St. Peter's palace, the 25th of May, 1643, and in the 20th year of our pontificate.

M. A. Maraldus.

Ser. Whitfield. We have troubled you with a long relation of the actions of the confederates with the lord Mac-Guire, though not done in his own perſon, and his own particular act; but for this that was done by the generality, I heard my lord ſay at the bar, what is that to me? yes, my lord, this is to you; you were one of the conſpirators in the firſt plot, and you contrived the buſineſs. And that had been treaſon alone, to ſend the prieſt to fetch Owen O Neale into Ireland, with arms and ſoldiers: but you contrived this, and conſpired it, and you are as guilty in law, of all theſe cruel murders, and burnings in every place: for the law of England is, in treaſon you are all principals, no acceſſaries. Your ſon was there, your lady is rewarded; for the ſupreme council they have taken care of you: why! becauſe you were one of the firſt complotters of it; and this will light upon you, and fall very heavy.

And

And for your exchange, it was propounded for the lord Caulfield; but when they could not have that agreed upon, then what becomes of the poor lord Caulfield? murdered too! and you ſee what encouragement you have from the complotters, and from the devil too; for they were both together in it. And now you have ſeen the indictment fully made good.

Then the lord Mac-Guire proceeded to make his defence, wherein he firſt of all denied his examination, (altho' teſtified as before by ſo many credible witneſſes) and ſaid, that he knew no ſuch examination.

That at the time of his apprehenſion at Dublin, he came about his own particular occaſions, as his eſtate was in danger, if he did not follow it; that becauſe he was found about the city, he was therefore apprehended; that his lodging was not within the city, but he lodged without the city; that he did lodge at Mr. Nevill's houſe formerly, but not at this time; that for ſome of the places mentioned, where he ſhould be about the conſpiracy, he had not been there a year before, he was certain of it. For the number of proteſtants that were mentioned to be ſlain, he ſaid he did not think there were ſo many proteſtants in the whole kingdom. That he was continually either at his own houſe, or at Dublin, and knew nothing of the plot but by hear-ſay.

Judge. You confeſs in your examination, when the day was for the riſing, that you were in the conſpiracy, and appointed for the taking of Dublin caſtle; and that you were taken when you came about it: alſo you rode about it, and provided arms.

Mac. I was in the houſe in the cock-loft where I was taken; I did not know where any army was.

Ser. Whitfield. My lord Mac-Guire does forget himſelf, what he acknowledges under his own hand.

Then the examination being ſhewed him, he ſaid, there is my name but not my hand.

Judge. I am ſorry to hear it; I did rather expect, that you ſhould have acknowledged it; here are two able witneſſes that can teſtifie it againſt you; your denying your own hand, which is ſo manifeſtly proved, will be a great diſcredit to what you ſay: you acknowledged it at two ſeveral times.

Mac. What did I acknowledge?

Judge. You ſay that you came to Dublin to ſettle your eſtate: by your own examination you acknowledge, that the caſtle of Dublin was to be ſurpriſed by your ſelf.

Judge. It is now time we ſhould draw to the jury: you hear my lord *Bramſtone* and my brother Finch here juſtifie it to you.

Then my lord Mac-Guire's examination was ſhewed to my lord Blaney, being preſent in court, demanding whether he thought it to be Mac-Guire's hand or no?

Lord *Blaney.* It is my lord's own hand, he hath written to me many letters.

Mac. I don't think I have written many letters to your lordſhip.

Judge. Gentlemen of the jury, you may go to the buſineſs; if there were nothing but that you ſee in this caſe, but what is in the examination, if you believe it to be his; his confeſſion does acknowledge it: you hear this by the teſtimony of my lord Bramſtone, and my brother Finch expreſly, that were preſent when he did acknowledge it, and ſet his

his hand to it; and yet you ſee, though it is here proved by my lord Blaney, he denies it. If you find this to be true, here is treaſon enough, and too much too; for he does here confeſs, that Roger Moore did acquaint him, that if the Iriſh did riſe, they might make their own conditions for regaining their lands: and he acquainted him, that he had ſpoken with ſundry in Leinſter, that would be ready for that purpoſe; and that a great part of Conaught would do the like: and then moved him (this lord) the priſoner at the bar, to join likewiſe with him, which he did; ſo then was the plot. The next day they met; he goes to Moore's chamber again, where col. mac-Brian, Macmahone, and others, had diſcourſe again about it: then he ſays, that they did ſend over to Owen O Neal, to acquaint him concerning the general rebellion in Ireland, then in preparation. He confeſſes expreſly, that being demanded why the ſaid Owen ſhould bring over arms, ſeeing the caſtle of Dublin was to be ſurpriſed? he anſwered, that they ſo provided arms, that they might not want any thing, if they ſhould not take it, whereof they doubted. And then you have him acknowledging, that the caſtle of Dublin was to be ſurpriſed by himſelf, and captain Brian O Neale, and others. Theſe words ſhew here expreſly, that the day whereon the execution was appointed, by the lord Mac-Guire's own confeſſion, he was come to Dublin for the ſurpriſe of the caſtle. So that it is apparent, that he was about this plot expreſly. If this be true, that you did conſpire to make war or rebellion within that kingdom, though you were taken your ſelf before it was executed, yet it was your own conſpiracy: and beſides, endeavouring

after that to bring it to perfection, by ſending over for arms; all theſe do diſcover your own intention to execute it.

Mac. I confeſs it not, I refer myſelf to the Jury.

Judge. Gentlemen, you are to know, that to conſpire to raiſe a war, if any of that conſpiracy do act it, as you ſee here ſir Phelim O Neal did, if you obſerve the teſtimony of my lady Caulfield, he came and ſurpriſed the caſtle of Charlemont, and then it was given out, that my lord Mac-Guire had taken Dublin; ſo that though it did not take effect, that which is done by any, is teſtimony enough.

Go together and conſider of it.

Upon this the jury went together, and ſtaying a ſhort ſpace, returned their verdict, which was, that they found him guilty of all the treaſons according to the indictment.

Clerk. Connor Mac-Guire, alias Cornelius Mac-Guire, thou haſt been indicted for ſeveral high treaſons, and thou haſt been arraigned. Upon the arraignment thou haſt pleaded not guilty; and for thy tryal haſt put thyſelf upon thy country, which country have found thee guilty, according to the indictment; therefore prepare thyſelf to receive the ſentence.

Mac. I deſire to know by what law?

Judge. The law is well enough known: that is a treaſon within the ſtatute without doubt.

Mac. I was not tried by my peers.

Judge. This is a general exception, formerly annexed in your plea: if you can ſhew ſome particular cauſe alſo, you ſhall be heard.

Mac.

Mac. I deſire counſel to adviſe me.

Judge. When you did put in a plea therein, you had counſel to adviſe you in your plea, and to argue it; now your time is paſt for counſel; you muſt have none aſſigned to pick holes in the indictment.

Mac. I deſire the court would conſider of it, before they proceed to ſentence.

Judge. You offer nothing to the court that is of any difficulty: you had counſel, whether you ſhould be tried by your peers, or the jury here; which jury are to try any man under a nobleman in this kingdom.

Mac. I deſire to know under what ſeal you thus proceed againſt me; for I think you ſit here by the new ſeal.

Judge. What ſeal do you mean? I ſit here by vertue of the old, by order of parliament.

Mac. Under favour, I conceive, that the ordinance of parliament for the new ſeal, makes all done by the old ſeal to be void.

Judge. Here is nothing done but by good authority, and the parliament's approbation.

Mac. I conceive the ordinance for the new ſeal cuts off all proceedings of the old.

Judge. My authority is not cut off: I was made by the old ſeal, before there was any new ſeal, and ſo I am continued by the parliament; and the parliament did take notice that I have been allowed to ſit. Beſides this, there is nothing done in this court by the new ſeal: the ſheriffs are here by a charter, and that comes in from year to year; and there is no ſeal in order of execution.

Judge. Well, if you have nothing to ſay for yourſelf, I am to pronounce ſentence, as I am a miniſter of juſtice. You have been indicted here for ſeveral treaſons contained in your indictment,

dictment, as was here of late read unto you; and you have had a fair proceeding, and very deliberately: for your indictment came in about Alhallowmas laſt, three weeks or a month before the end of the laſt term, three weeks at leaſt. You then made a queſtion, whether you ought to be tried by your peers in Ireland, or a jury here? the court did ſo far deliberate in it, as to allow you counſel to plead with the beſt advantage you could: and afterwards, this term, there hath been two arguments at the bar on each ſide; where hath been ſaid as much for you as can be. The court over-ruled that, and ſo you are tried by a jury; and you had the liberty to challenge them, and had all the advantages that the law will afford, and take all the exceptions you could. Truly, for my part, I ſee that there is not any one of them for me to ſway the judgment: the treaſon and the offences that you are charged withal, are very henious, your crimes very impious; great deſtruction hath followed upon your plot, which the jury have found you guilty of. What a mighty cruel war and great devaſtation in that kingdom? moſt horrid to ſpeak or rehearſe! it is fitter for you now to bethink yourſelf, what your offences are, and prepare yourſelf for death, rather than ſeek to maſk or put colours upon thoſe things which are ſo manifeſtly proved to all the world. And now you are found guilty; and therefore there is no contradiction or gain-ſaying will avail you: you ought to repent, and pray to God to forgive that offence whereof you are guilty. The judgment that I am by the law to pronounce againſt you is this: Connor Mac-Guire, eſq; you being found guilty of the treaſons

treaſons whereof you are indicted, your judgment is, that you ſhall be carried from hence to the place from whence you came, that is, the Tower, and from thence to Tyburn, the place of execution; and there you ſhall be hanged by the neck, and cut down alive, your bowels taken out, and burnt before your face, your head to be cut off, your body to be divided into four quarters, and the head of your body to be ſet up and diſpoſed of, as the ſtate ſhall appoint. "And the Lord have mercy upon your ſoul."

After judgment pronounced, the king's counſel demanded of him, whether he would have any miniſters come to him, to prepare him for his end, and to adviſe him for the good of his ſoul.

Mac. I deſire none of them: but I deſire I may be ſent priſoner to Newgate.

Counſel. His reaſon is, becauſe there are ſome popiſh prieſts there.

Judge. That cannot be: your judgment is to return to the Tower; where you may have miniſters (if you pleaſe) to adviſe you for your ſoul.

Mac. I deſire you, that ſome gentlemen of my own religion may have acceſs to me, to confer with me; and ſome who are my fellow-priſoners in the Tower, to ſpeak with me in my keeper's preſence.

Judge. You muſt name ſome body in particular.

Mac. I deſire to confer with Mr. Walter Montague. [Belike he knew him to be a popiſh prieſt or jeſuit.]

Judge. You muſt prepare yourſelf to die againſt Saturday next.

Mac.

Mac. I deſire a fortnight's time to prepare myſelf.

Judge. That is too long a ſpace, and I cannot grant it; but you ſhall have convenient time.

Mac. I deſire you that I may have three days notice at leaſt, to prepare myſelf.

Judge. You ſhall have three days warning; but however delay no time to prepare yourſelf.

Mac. I deſire my execution may be altered, and not according to the judgment; and that I may not be hanged and quartered.

Judge. This lies not in my power to grant; but here are ſome members of the houſe of commons in court, and you are beſt addreſs yourſelf to them, that they may acquaint the houſe with your deſires.

Mac. I ſhall deſire the gentlemen of the houſe of commons, ſo many as are here, to move the houſe in my behalf, that I may have a fornight's time to prepare myſelf, and that the manner of my execution may be changed.

Sir John Clotworthy. My lord, I have been your ſchool-fellow heretofore, and have found ſome ingenuity in you; and I have ſeen ſome letters of yours, importing ſome remorſe of conſcience in you for this fact; and I ſhould be glad to diſcern the like ingenuity in you ſtill: and ſhall move the houſe, that you may have ſome miniſters appointed to come to you; and likewiſe acquaint them with your other deſires.

Then the priſoner departing from the bar, Mr. Prynne adviſing him to confer with ſome Godly miniſters for the good and comfort of his ſoul; he anſwered, that he would have none

none at all, unleſs he might have ſome romiſh prieſts of his own religion.

To which Mr. Prynne replied, my lord, theſe romiſh prieſts are the chief inſtruments who have adviſed you to plot and perpetrate thoſe execrable treaſons for which you are now condemned, and have brought upon you that ſhameful judgment of a traytor, the execution whereof you even now ſo earneſtly deprecated. Since then they have proved ſuch evil deſtructive counſellours, to you in your life, you have great reaſon to diſclaim them with their bloody religion, and to ſeek out better adviſers for you at your death, leſt you eternally loſe your ſoul, as well as your life, for the blood of thoſe many thouſand innocents which have been ſhed by your means. To which he, pauſing a little, anſwered, that he was reſolved in his way. Whereupon another lawyer ſaid, my lord, you were beſt to hear both ſides. To which he anſwered, in an obſtinate manner, I am ſettled on one ſide already, and therefore I deſire not to confer with any other. And ſo departed through the hall towards the tower, the people crouding and running about to behold his perſon.

After the ſentence pronounced againſt the lord Mac-Guire, as before ſaid, he petitioned the parliament, as followeth.

To

To the right honourable the lords and commons now aſſembled in parliament.

The humble petition of the lord Mac-Guire;

Humbly ſheweth,

Ma-Guire's petition to be beheaded.

THAT your petitioner ſtands condemned for his life, and adjudged to be drawn, hanged and quartered: the performance whereof (he humbly conceives) in ſome more favourable manner, will be ſatisfactory to juſtice. And foraſmuch as your petitioner hath hitherto enjoyed the degree and dignity of a lord, which he humbly conceives your lordſhips are well acquainted with:

In tender conſideration whereof, he deſireth that your honours would graciouſly be pleaſed, in mercy, to mitigate the rigour of his ſentence, and turn it to that degree which moſt befits the denomination he hath: and as he hath been looked on by the eye of juſtice in his condemnation, ſo in this particular he may be pitied, and have mercy.

And he ſhall ever pray, &c.

CORNELIUS MAC-GUIRE.

His petition Rejected.

BUT this petition was rejected by the parliament, and on Thurſday, February the 20th, he was drawn on a ſledge from the tower through London, and ſo to Tyburn; where being removed into a cart, he kneeled and prayed a while: after which ſheriff Gibbs ſpake to him, repreſenting the heinouſneſs of his crimes, and the vaſt number that had been murdered

murdered by that conſpiracy for which he was to ſuffer, and therefore exhorted him to expreſs his ſorrow for it: in anſwer to which he ſaid, I deſire almighty God to forgive me my ſins.

Sheriff Gibbs. Do you believe you did well in thoſe wicked actions?

Mac-Guire. I have but a ſhort time, do not trouble me.

Sher. Sir, it is but juſt I ſhould trouble you, that you may not be troubled for ever?

Mac. I beſeech you, ſir! trouble me not, I have but a little time to ſpend.

Sher. Sir, I ſhall give you as much time after, as you ſhall ſpend to give ſatisfaction to the people; I do require you, as an inſtrument ſet in God's ſtead here, to make an acknowledgment to the people, whether you are ſorry for what you have done, or no? whether it be good or no?

Mac. I beſeech you do not trouble me; I am not diſpoſed to give you an account. Pray give me leave to pray.

Doctor Sibbald. Give glory to God, that your ſoul may not be preſented to God with the blood of ſo many thouſand people.

Sher. You are either to go to heaven or hell; if you make not an ingenuous confeſſion, your caſe is deſperate: had you any commiſſion or no?

Mac. I tell you that there was no commiſſion that ever I ſaw.

Sher. Who were actors or plotters with you, or gave you any commiſſion?

Mac. For God's ſake, give me leave to depart in peace.

Then they aſked him if he had not ſome pardon or bull from the pope for what he did?

to

to which he only anſwered, I am not of the ſame religion with you. And being further urged about a bull or pardon, ſaid, I ſaw none of it: all that I knew, I delivered in my examinations; all that I ſaid in my examinations are true; all that I ſaid is right; I beſeech you let me depart in peace; and ſo not returning them any anſwer to their queſtions, he continued mumbling over a paper which he had in his hand, as he had done from his firſt coming. The ſheriff commanded his pockets to be ſearched, whether he had a bull or pardon about him, but they found in his pockets only ſome beads and a crucifix, which were taken from him: and then doctor Sibbald ſaid to him, come my lord, leave thoſe and acknowledge your offence to God and the world; one drop of the blood of Jeſus Chriſt is able to purge away all the heavy load of blood that is upon you; it is not *your Ave Maria's*, nor theſe things will do *you* any good: but it is *Agnus Dei, qui tollit peccata Mundi.* The lord Mac-Guire ſeemed not to regard his diſcourſe, but read out of his paper to the people as followeth.

'Since I am here to die, I deſire to depart 'with a quiet mind, and with the marks of a 'good chriſtian, that is, aſking forgiveneſs 'firſt of God, and next of the world. And 'I do forgive (from the bottom of my heart) 'all my enemies and offenders, even thoſe 'that have an hand in my death. I die a 'Roman catholick, and although I have been 'a great ſinner, yet am I now by God's grace, 'heartily ſorry for all my ſins, and I do 'moſt confidently truſt to be ſaved, not by 'my own works, but only by the paſſion;

'merits

'merits and mercy of my dear Saviour Jeſus 'Chriſt, into whoſe hand I commend my ſoul.' And then added, 'I beſeech you gentle-'men, let me have a little time to ſay my 'prayers."

Sher. Sir, if you anſwer ingeniouſly to thoſe queſtions we ſhall aſk you, you ſhall have time afterwards. Whether do you account the ſhedding of the proteſtants blood to be a ſin or not? and whether you deſire pardon of God for that ſin?

Mac. I do deſire pardon of God for all my ſins; I cannot reſolve you in any thing for my part.

Sher. You can tell what your conſcience dictates to you; do you think it was a ſin or not?

Mac. For my part I cannot determine it.

Sher. Then now it ſeems nothing to you to kill ſo many?

Mac. How do you mean killing of them? to tell you my mind directly, for the killing I do not know that, but I think the Iriſh had a juſt cauſe for their wars.

Sher. Was there any aſſault made upon you? had you not entered into a covenant? had you not engaged by oath yourſelf to the king?

Mac. For Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, I beſeech you to give me a little time to prepare myſelf.

Sher. Have pity upon your own ſoul.

Mac. For God's ſake have pity upon me, and let me ſay my prayers.

Sher. I ſay the like to you, in relation to your own ſoul; whether you think the maſſacre of ſo many thouſand proteſtants was a good act? for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake have pity upon your own ſoul.

Mac. Pray let me have a little time to ſay my prayers.

All this while his eye was moſtly upon his papers, mumbling over ſomething out of them to himſelf; whereupon one of the ſheriffs demanding thoſe papers of him, he flung them down. They were taken up and given to the ſheriff, and a copy of them hereafter follows. They aſked him further, whether there was not ſome agreement with the recuſants here in England? whereunto he anſwered, I take it upon my death, I do not know that any man knew of it; and after ſome other ſuch like talk, the ſheriff bidding him prepare himſelf for death, he ſaid, 'I do beſeech all the catholicks that are here to pray for me, I beſeech God to have mercy upon my ſoul.' And ſo was executed.

Copy of the papers which the lord Mac-Guire carried in his hand to the place of execution, which were delivered to the ſheriffs.

[A letter of ſome of the friends of the lord Mac-Guire, who it ſeems intended to attend him to the place of execution.]

Moſt loving ſir,

Mac-guire's Papers carried in his Hand to the place of execution, directing his Devotion.

MY maſter his coach ſhall wait on you infallibly. That day your friend William ſhall go by coach all the way, upon a red horſe, with a white hat, and in a grey jacket, and then you cannot chooſe (by the grace of God) but to know the coach, of two whitiſh horſes, and then you may do, or ſhew that token only, as to lift up to your face your hand, nodding (or inclining down) your head,

and

and there ſhall go two or three (divers) coaches for the ſame purpoſe, and be ſure to have plenary phyſick as you deſire. I ſend you this holy ſtone, by virtue whereof you may gain a plenary phyſick, in ſaying any certain prayer. I beſeech you, dear ſir, be of good courage, for you ſhall not want any thing, for that happy journey, and offer you yourſelf wholly for him, who did the ſame for you. Pray earneſtly for your country, and for your own ſons, that God may proſper them. I do humbly intreat you to pray for me, your own poor afflicted ſervant,

Your poor G-R A Y.

You ſhall do well to ſend your letters to-morrow to that young man that comes to me, and the wooden croſs that I have ſent there of late; I beſeech you ſend me word, whether the reliquary that came along with thoſe two croſſes was yours or your companion's Mac-Mohun Hugh.

This was in the margin of the Letter, as it were a poſtſcript.

Theſe words following were in an Iriſh character.

Mo mhile beannacht chugad a mhic mhauma.

In Engliſh.

My Thouſand Bleſſings unto you, ſon of my ſoul.

The following paper was only in Latin, but here engliſhed verbatim.

BEloved ſon in Chriſt, believe Almighty God, who governs all the World by his eternal Providence, hath ap-

CREDE (Dilecte in Chriſto fili) Deum optimum, maximum qui mundum hunc univerſum æterna

pointed this way to thy ſalvation, and this manner of death, though he could have brought thee to the land of bliſs, by another way, knew this to be more expedient. Therefore (my ſon) thou ſhouldſt ſuffer this kind of glorious death which thy God hath ordained for thee, with an elevated mind, yea, thou ſhouldſt deſire it; certainly this kind of death is a great mercy of God; is it not a ſpecial gift of God, to have a certain time of ſorrow and repentance for offences committed? oh! with how great a deſire did the kingly prophet, David, wiſh that he might know the length of his days! expoſtulating thus with God, "make me O lord, to "know my end, and the "number of my days." This kind of death is granted to many, who rather with a perverſe mind, and by an unforeſeen death fall to ſuffer everlaſting puniſhment, pſal. 36. David being weary of the miſeries and dangers of this pre-

naquadam mentis proviſione moderatur; hanc ſalutis tuæ viam: et hunc modum moriendi, ſtatuiſſe, qui quidem quamvis te ad fælicitati; patriam alio tramite ducere potuiſſet, magis hoc tibi expedire prægognovit. Ergo (mi fili) hoc genus glorioſum mortis, quod dominus deus ſic tibi ornavit, erecto animo perferas, quinetiam exoptes. Certè hujuſmodi mors magnum dei beneficium eſt; nonne ſpeciale donum dei eſt, habere certum tempus dolendi et pœnitendi de offenſis commiſſis contra ſuam divinam majeſtatem? O! quanto deſiderio expoſtulavit ſibi dari certum et notum vitæ ſuæ ſpatium regius propheta Davidus, expoſtulans a deo ſic! notum fac mihi domine finem meum et numerum dierum meorum. Hoc genus mortis enim quamplurimis eſt conceſſum, qui perverſo

potius

potius animo improvisa morte cecidêrunt, pœnas daturi sempiternas. Davidus pertæsus miserias et pericula præsentis vitæ, dicebat, heu mihi quia incolatus meus prolongatus est, quasi longum illi videretur tempus exilii. beatus Paulus dicebat, infelix ego, quis me liberabit à corpore mortis hujus? et ex desiderio vivendi in terrâ viventium, dicebar, cupio dissolvi et esse cum Christo. Ideo (mi domine) hanc mortem quæ tibi jam imminet, æquo animo pro Christo acerbiter pro te mortuo, feras, hanc, amarissimam Christi mortem tormenta, & cæteris oculis tui cordis ferventer me dictare, Vide,—

sent life, said, wo is me! because my pilgrimage is prolonged, as if the time of his banishment seemed long; besides Paul says, O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from this body of death, Rom. 7. And out of living in the land of the living he said, I desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ. Therefore (my lord) bear this death which now hangs over head with a quiet mind, for Christ died for you; therefore fervently meditate with the eyes of your heart, upon this bitter death of Christ; and his torments. See,—

These lines following were written on the back-side of the paper, part of it being before torn, and no more brought by him than what is here.

—gni fui te promovetet, & dicas, in ma-

—his kingdom shall move thee, and say, into thy

thy hands I commend my ſpirit, thou haſt redeemed me, O lord God of truth; thou haſt created me, O my God, thou haſt redeemed me, O moſt holy Fother. I am all thine, let thy will be done in me; illuminate mine eyes that I may never ſleep in death. Thou ſhalt invocate the bleſſed Mary *for thy helper, ſaying* Mary *the mother of grace, the mother of mercy, do thou protect us from the enemy, and receive us in the hour of death; thou ſhalt invocate alſo Saint* Michael *the archangel and the angel thy keeper, and the holy patrons, and laſtly all the ſaints, that they may interceed for thee and help thee with their prayers and merits: thou ſhalt alſo recite theſe words, O Lord Jeſus Chriſt, I believe that thou art my God and my Redeemer, and I firmly believe whatſoever the holy catholick church propounds to be believed, and profeſs that I will live and die in this faith. It*

nus tuas Domine commendo ſpiritum meum, redemiſti me Domine Deus veritatis: tu me creaſti Deus meus, tu me redemiſti: Pater ſanctiſſime totus ſum tuus, fiat in me voluntas tua, illumina occulos meos, ne unquam obdormiam in morte. Beatam *Mariam* invoces in auxiliatricem, dicendo, *Maria* mater gratiæ, mater miſericordie, tu nos ab hoſte protege, & in horâ mortis ſuſcipe; invoces etiam ſanctum *Michaelem* archangelum, & angelum cuſtodem, & ſanctos patronos, & demum omnes ſanctos, ut intercedant pro te & adjuvent te ſuis ſuffragiis, & meritis: recites etiam hæc verba, Domine Jeſu Chriſte, credo quod Deus meus & redemptor meus es tu, & credo firmiter quicquid ſancta eccleſia catholica proponit credendum, & in hæc proteſtor me velle vivere & mori.

Domine

Domine Jeſu dolet mihi, quod tantam bonitatem offenderim, & dolet quod amplids non doleo de offenſis contra te Creatorem & Salvatorum meum, cogitatione, verbo, & opere & omiſſione perpetratis, & humiliter peto mihi, condonari per ſanguinem tuum quem pro mea ſalute profudiſti. Et ſi quod oblitus ſum vel non cognoſco quod Majeſtatem tuam offenderit, de eo illuminari cupio & pœnitere; & interim de omnibus veniam peto. Omnibus qui me offenderunt ex corde meo, & ſimiliter omnes offenſas propter te dimitto, & ſi quem ego offendi, precor etiam veniam mihi dari, & ſi aliquid alicujus eſt apud me, volo ſatisfacere per hæredem meum omnibus quibus debeo.

grieves me that I have offended ſo great goodneſs, and it grieves me that I can grieve no more for my offences committed againſt thee, my Creator and Saviour, in thought, word and deed, and by omiſſion: and I humbly beſeech thee to pardon me by thy blood, which thou haſt poured out for my ſalvation; and if I have forgot any thing which hath offended thy Majeſty, or do not know it, I deſire to know it and repent it. And in the mean time I aſk forgiveneſs of all, and likewiſe for thy ſake do from my heart paſs by all offences whereby others have offended me, alſo I pray them to forgive me, and if I have detained any thing from any man, my heirs ſhall make reſtitution to them to whom it is due.

The

The copy of another paper, containing a direction for his devotion in his paſſage to and at the place of execution, ſent from his ghoſtly father with the former.

Jeſus IHS Maria.

In your paſſage to execution, remember as followeth,

To think on our Lord carrying his croſs to *Mount Calvario*,
Or on the proper meditation againſt the devil's temptation.
Think that the pain is ſhort, the reward eternal and everlaſting.

Have mercy on me, O God, &c.	Miſerere mei Deus, *&c.*
Lord not in thy wrath	Domine ne in *furore* tuo.
	The firſt penitential pſalm.
Our Father.	Pater noſter.
Hail Mary.	Ave *Maria*.
In thee, O Lord, have I truſted, let me never be confounded in thy juſtice.	In te Domine ſperavi, non confundar in æternum in tua juſtitia.
By the myſtery of thy holy incarnation, O Lord deliver us.	Per miſterium ſanctæ incarnationis tuæ libera nos Domine.
Sanctifie me with the ſpirit of Chriſt.	Anima Chriſti ſanctifica me.
Thou ſoughteſt me being weary.	Quærens me ſediſti laſſus.
I humbly pray.	Oro ſupplex.

Sancti

Sancti Angeli.	*O holy Angels.*
Sub tuum præſidium confugimus ſancta Dei genetrix.	*We fly to thee for aid, O holy mother of God.*
Memento rerum conditor.	*Remember, O Maker of all things.*

Remember the promiſes of God, that none ſhall be tempted, &c. *Call upon me in the days of,* &c. *Come to me all ye that be heavy,* &c.

When you come to Newgate *make your token for an abſolution.*

When you come to the place of execution, do as followeth.

O Domine Jeſu Chriſte adore te in cruce, *&c.*	*O Lord Jeſus Chriſt I worſhip thee in the Croſs.*
Ave dulcis mater Chriſti, *&c.*	*Hail ſweet mother of Chriſt,* &c.
Domina mea ſancta *Maria.*	*O holy lady* Mary.
Nunc dimittis ſervum Domine.	*Lord now let thy ſervant depart,* &c.
Miſerere mei Deus.	*Have mercy on me, O God.*
Quærens me ſedisti laſſus.	*Thou ſoughteſt me being weary.*
Oro ſupplex & acclivis.	*I humbly pray on my knees.*
Tu fons miſericordiæ.	*Thou art the fountain of mercy.*

Pray for the church of *Ireland,* M. Greà, ſay, *Jeſus Maria* three times for an indulgence, alſo a *Pater* and a *Ave* and *Jeſus Maria* three times for the ſame end.

Then

Then make either of theſe tokens, ſtretch out your hands in form of a croſs or (if you cannot do ſo) join them together before your breaſt, with a handkerchief, twiſted about your hand (with ſorrow for your ſins, and earneſtly deſiring abſolution of the church) and God will abſolve you.

This was written but croſs'd out again, and another paper pinn'd upon it, written in another manner, which alſo doth follow.

Before you make this token, ſettle *on your* deſire, and ſay, I deſire an abſolution, &c. and ſay, *Confiteor Deo Omnipotenti*, I confeſs me to almighty God, and then make your token.

* This paper was pinn'd upon that which was croſſed out.

* Then ſay, O Amabiliſſima bonitas! Confiteor Deo, with ſorrow for your ſins, and ſettle your heart earneſtly to deſire an abſolution from the church (and I deſire an abſolution) make your token (or mark of lifting both your hands to your face, and letting fall your handkerchief, God will abſolve you.

After that pray for your enemies and perſecutors, and forgive them from the bottom of your heart.

Then willingly reſign *yourſelf* wholly to the bleſſed will of God, and truſt only to be ſaved by the merits of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

Then ſay theſe Words following (publickly) that you may be heard.

" Since I am here to die, I deſire to depart
" with a quiet mind, and with the marks of
" a good chriſtian, that is aſking forgiveneſs
" firſt of God, and next of the world. And
" I do forgive (from the bottom of my heart)
" all my enemies, offenders, even thoſe that
" have had an hand in my death.

Say

Say moreover.

" I die a roman catholick, and although I " have been a great ſinner, yet am I now (by " God's grace) heartily ſorry for all my ſins. " And I do moſt confidently truſt to be ſaved, " not by any of my own works, but only by " the paſſion, merits and mercy of my dear " ſaviour Jeſus Chriſt, into whoſe hands I " commend my ſpirit."

Offer all thy ſufferings to our ſaviour in union of what he ſuffered.

Laſtly ſay,

O lord Jeſus Chriſt.	Domine Jeſu Chriſte.
For that bitterneſs.	Propter illam amaritudinem.
Thou ſought'ſt me being weary.	Quærens me ſediſti laſſus.
I humbly pray on my knees.	Oro ſupplex & acclivis.
Thou art the fountain of mercy.	Tu fons miſericordiæ.

Reſign yourſelf willingly and wholly to God.

Upon the ladder make your ſign for an abſolution, and ſay, I deſire with all my heart an abſolution from my mother the catholick church for my ſins.

Sir Phelim Roe O Neale's, patent to Brian Mac-Guire, eſq; to be governor of the county of Fermanagh, dated the 10th of May, 1642.

FOraſmuch as for the great truſt, confidence, fidelity and circumſpective, conſcionable, righteous care and deligence we repoſe in our truſty and well-beloved friend and